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[P. 37a]

Rain-Making

●789 The Chunut, Tachi, Nutunutu, and Wowol (the lake tribes) did not have special practitioners for rain-making. J.A. recalls a Pitanisha named Hutu´ [Hopodno ?] who was asked to come up to Pisras to make rain. He had an object "like an egg (se´'el) without any shell on it. When he threw this up in the air, water fell all over from it."

[823] Rain could be made, or a storm might even be caused, by the use of the charmstones (unok) found in the lake region. Any doctor or plain person who wanted to could use one. They are associated with thunder and are thought to be natural, i.e., not man-made objects.[93] To operate these a little water was sprinkled on them and they were cast out in the direction from which rain was desired: gentle rains came from the west or northwest, hard rains from the southeast. If a violent wind was wanted too, a little earth was put on the charmstone with the water.

In February (1929) J.A. and her godchild were out gathering mushrooms. The girl found an unok, picked it up and asked what it was. After she heard J.A.'s explanation she thoughtlessly threw it away, for which she was chided. As a consequence it rained and stormed for two weeks [which it did].

With the fear that the owner might be careless, J.A. has consistently refused to sell an unok she has in her trunk. When a bad thunderstorm comes up it is always said that someone has been playing with an unok.

Kroeber gives us the following with regard to Tachi rain-making.

> ...but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of this amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.[94]

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[93] Described and illustrated in Gifford and Schenck, 93-97, pls. 33-34. They also were used by the Indians of Lompoc, Santa Barbara, and Ventura as weather-making amulets (Yates, Charmstones, 299-305).

[94] It would seem, from J.A.'s evidence, that these cylindrical stones are not similar to, but ARE, the charmstones of the California archaeologist. The loss of power, through loss of the amulet, is common to all persons having supernatural power. There was always anxiety over the safety of talismans.

●789 Kroeber gives "teshich gomom as the designation of 'rain doctor' or weather shamans."[95]

Supernatural Creatures

773 776 A very long time ago there were two girls called ta ñai (datura, jimsonweed). In the spring when jimsonweed was in blossom they would go out on the plains to pick these blooms. They made wreaths for their hair and carried bunches of flowers in their hands. They were very beautiful as they danced out over the plains, always at a distance from observers. As they danced they sang, "Now I shake the flowers being carried" (hiya´mi na·watsa´ meke´' elao´ni). Men were fascinated and wanted to catch the girls. They would drink a decoction of jimsonweed in order to see them better. Onlookers would ask the men what they saw, what the girls were doing. The drinkers would run off over the fields trying to catch the girls, but the girls were supernatural (t·pni) and could never be caught. (See section on "Jimsonweed.")

776 Water babies (wi´t·p a´ki, lit., spring baby) were not uncommon in local ponds. They had long black hair and tiny hands. People did not like to see them.

A supernatural dog (t·pni pu´us) lived amongst the button willows at a pond just northeast of J.A.'s house. The dog had no special name. Some supernatural people lived there too; real people never got very close to them.

Wainus is a big snake with a human head. He lives underground, and if he likes a person will come out into view. He helps doctors, but if a person who did not want supernatural power were to see one, he would die. Chicken-hawk down was sprinkled before them if seen. Bob Bautista, a prominent Tachi shaman, longed to see one "but he never did."

[756]

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

776 821 An all-black dog was said to be "Thunder's dog." But during a thunderstorm any dog might be whipped out of doors until it yelped, then it would be turned loose and the thunder would cease. This refers to the belief that the Thunder Twins were fostered by a bitch, that they will cease their racket rather than have her suffer.

[301] Most Yokuts people were, and still are, afraid to wear abalone shell ornaments during a storm. If a person were caught out with one in bad weather, it should be torn off and thrown as far as possible. At the spot where it alighted "the thunder would stand right on it," i.e., lightning would strike and take it.

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[95] Handbook, 54, 518.

276 (Hoshima). When it was used at Čiau, the following practices were observed.

Jimsonweed was taken but once during life, by men only, at about twenty years of age. An old man who had jimsonweed as a dream helper had charge of the affair. He took the youths away from the village for about two months, usually November and December. The drinking was not done in public, and M.G. implied that it took place at the end of the first month of seclusion. They abstained from meat for one month before, and one month after, the drinking, subsisting entirely on tule root mush (po´kto). They took an emetic before eating meat again.

The seclusion of the drinkers was not rigid; they came home occasionally to get things they might want. M.G. thought they had to do a great deal of running, but did not know what instructions were given them.

[789 756] The purpose of the drinking was to ensure a long life (čačai´nawaš, "to have roots"). These men did not become shamans, nor did they, while in the narcosis, attempt curing of others.

[752] Jimsonweed was used medicinally by the Tachi: a poultice of the mashed roots was applied to broken bones.

Gifford includes the following in his notes on Tachi moieties.

The use of jimsonweed (monui in Tachi, tani in more southerly Yokuts dialects) seems to have had no connection whatsoever with the moieties or the totems. In olden times boys drank jimsonweed and saw many things -- the world, as the Tachi express it -- while in narcosis. Sometimes a mountain lion or bear was seen. The creature seen was usually not a moiety totem.

The Chunut, in closer contact with the foothill people, made more use of jimsonweed (ta´nai) than did the Tachi and Wowol.[98] The Wowol did not refuse it entirely but were uneasy about its powers, according to J.A. She has never taken it, and holds it in awe. She does not think it has been used ceremonially for thirty or forty years.

The Chunut jimsonweed drinking took place about February, or even earlier. Young men and women who had reached full maturity of growth might take it, and as often as they wished, provided it was in the early spring. By taking [787] it one "could see anything": one found out how long he would live, saw the causes of people's sickness, saw what shamans were doing, who was dying far away, or where lost articles were. As an example, J.A. said if somebody would take some jimsonweed now, she could find out who broke into her trunk and took her things and where they were now. (Her trunk was robbed about a month previous, while she was at Delano cooking for sheep-shearers.)

[98] The Chumash used it as a prerequisite to the handling of weather-making charmstones (Yates, 304).

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
276 mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
[752] of the plant which "made him crazy for about two weeks and then he died." He became swollen and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo, took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the back of his head. He was thought to have observed all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance, principally), but he died soon after.

752- For fractures the skin was scarified all
276 around the injury and a poultice of cooked, mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A large poultice was applied all over his shoulder, and he was cured.

276 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
789 used in the valley as it was in the foothills, i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928) W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during the night. He opened and closed both the back door and the front. She could hear him walking about softly in the kitchen. She called to him, asked him what he wanted, said she would help him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer. The next day a woman told her to cook some jimsonweed in the house to drive away the ghost. But J.A. had been eating meat and handling greasy things, so she did not want to touch any jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
756 called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi čɨk, who
825 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattlesnake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe, not the Nutunutu, lived."[115]

Toičɨk got two or three snakes which he kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They were starved for six days. Then he put the snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them and picked them up and put them around his neck "to show that he was not afraid of them"; but he did not let them bite him. Everybody watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were singers there, too. There was some purpose in this to keep people from being bitten by rattlesnakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toičɨk could "make any snake bite any person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and never did this. The snake ritual was called le 'alawa, the handling, dai was or tatla was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[184] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

[115] [115]The informant, who was very dull, could not recall the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsumni in mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

[P. 47a] Paleuyam. Tubatulabal USSR

Y 756 would place a rattlesnake around her neck when she cried; the snake rattled and she ceased crying.

Y [752] Rattlesnake (te'ed) was her father's lineage totem. He cured people who had been struck by a rattlesnake by rubbing earth from a gopher's mound into the wound. He could prevent persons from being bitten, but M.A. does not know how he accomplished this. She stated with great positiveness that he never danced, participated in any ritual, or indulged in "snake-handling." (It is doubtful that the Snake Ritual was indigenous to the Southern Valley culture. See below.) He did no other curing.

M.A. herself, with Rattlesnake as her totem, had some special association with the snakes. When she was a little girl, her mother's cousin, Solo'pono (a snake-handler), had a rattlesnake which he could not control. M.A. was called, and the child passed her hand around in the air above it; immediately it coiled and quietened. Then Solopono put it in a bottleneck basket and took it to a Rattlesnake Ritual.

Y [145] When white hairs first appeared on M.A.'s head, she dreamed Rattlesnake came to her and said that "she was going to be like him with white spots on her head." (M.A.'s hair is all grey-white now.)

Y 756 787 Of supernatural power M.A. could or would not speak fluently: all her information was personalized. She did not "pay attention" to her dreams until after she was married. Then she swam three times during the night for three nights in succession. She was successful in her quest and "used her dreams to help her children"; but the nature of her power is not revealed. When she gambles, she eats only tobacco.

Y [828] A dream is one's heart traveling around at night. Once long ago when M.A. was out at night she met a spirit, but she "knew what it was and was not afraid." (It was impossible to discover whether this "out at night" was an actuality or dreamed.)

T Y 756 754 The most powerful curing doctor, but a bad one, was Wati'sti, according to M.A. She says he was a Bankalachi. He sent pains to people; by this means he killed women who resisted him. Other doctors tried to cure his victims but this was futile. He killed Wa'ni, the last Yaudanchi tiya, whose relatives avenged his death by killing Watisti.[113]

Y 789 791 A rain shaman from Tejon, Hopo'no, was renowned for his abilities, but M.A. never knew him to control the weather for pay. She related the following.

When M.A. was a young girl, Hopo'no was at Tule. He gambled at night with several others

[113] See F.N.'s account of this in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 398.

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[P. 476] Paleuyami

789 and lost continuously. People teased him unduly and he became very angry. The following
791 day he called on all his powers (ai ·n·č) to make a storm that would destroy the houses of those who had twitted him. A terrible hailstorm came out of a clear sky.[114] M.A. and her sister had gone to the river for water. They ran up a hill and crouched under some rocks for shelter. The storm continued unabated for an hour and many houses were washed away.

This rain-maker was known to Powers, who states that in 1870 he traveled as far north as Kings River offering to make rain for pay. The following year, another one of drought, he made a second pilgrimage, was paid abundantly, and caused rain to fall.[115]

A reference to Hopodno by Kroeber may be a reverberation of M.A.'s anecdote. Speaking of rain-makers he says, "The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners."[116]

CEREMONIES

Rattlesnake Ritual

796 M.A. remembers only one Rattlesnake Ritual at Tule, the one to which Solopono took the snake she had pacified. At this ceremony he picked the snake up by the tail and made it bite his back and wrist; then he fell over. A doctor named Či´čen revived him. Solopono was a Yaudanchi; another snake-handler there was Po´slili, a Wukchumni (sic, undoubtedly Puš·l·l·n, the Choinimni); all the others were strangers: there were six of these men who danced with snakes.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 M.A. saw jimsonweed drinking at Tule; al-
276 though she did not partake herself, her mother did. Her mother was sick and wanted to discover the cause: she saw that the cause of her sickness was up at Woodlake (she was a Yokod). Most people took it "to see the future."

The ritual was held in the spring. It was always conducted by the same man, Wilihana. The leader of the ritual was called tañai ''·ts; he prepared and administered the decoction. Both sexes drank together. Each person had his own drinking basket which was dipped into a

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[114] Just after this incident was related, heavy raindrops suddenly fell on us from a single cloud in a sunny blue sky. Both informant and interpreter laughed heartily and said, "That must be him now."

[115] Powers, 372.

[116] Handbook, 518; see also Gayton and Newman, 104.

[P-489] Patwyami

796 central basket by the leader, sprinkled with
276 eagle down, and returned to the drinker. When each drinker had his basket in hand, the leader called prayerfully upon "god" (tɨ·ʻpnɨm, supernatural power), not upon the jimsonweed, saying, "You gave us this. Now these people are going to drink it for you. Give them a good life; let them see everything."

There was no race. The drinking was done in the late afternoon. The participants fell [260] asleep at once and toward morning began talking. A twelve-day tabu on meat preceded and followed the rite.

● [784] Jimsonweed and golpopi were burned in houses to repel hovering spirits of deceased persons. Jimsonweed is "very old"; it was here in the prehuman era.

276 inder so that it might be worn on a cord about the neck. A hunter or traveler would wear one: when one was faint from hunger, frightened by a dream or the sight of a ghost, a small bite off the pulčina would restore the powers of locomotion.

A man kept his tobacco cake in a little deerskin sack.

The cake tobacco (šogon) was eaten in [757] minute quantities, or pounded up with shell lime and water and taken as an emetic, or [789] broken up and smoked in a cane pipe. A liquid made from tobacco was smeared on the feet and ankles to discourage rattlesnakes.

A group of men would gather at one house [517] about eight or nine o'clock in the evening to eat tobacco and lime. Women did not actively participate in these parties but might and did indulge in family privacy. Women and children were present, however, sitting in the background; the children were often asleep. This group partaking might be done on an evening before a hunt, or the mixture might be taken as a tonic for good health or to stimulate dreaming.

The host had a small mortar (koi´w:š) and pestle (pa´'lwi) especially for the purpose. A piece of baked shell was pulverized in the mortar, then a piece of cake tobacco pounded with it, and water poured in to make a thin liquor. The mortar and pestle were passed from man to man, each one taking a lick off the pestle; it did not matter which way it was passed. J.P.'s pestle had some small indentations in its side and he laughingly said those were there so more liquor could be got and licked off. As the men became nauseated they went forth to vomit, thence home "to sleep like drunk" (J.P.) (se´lawi ta´na šogo´ni na, dizzy to go tobacco-from I). Those who were going hunting or who were seeking supernatural power would eat only acorn gruel on the following morning. The same performance might be repeated on several successive nights, each time at a different house.

When women wanted to obtain nauseating effects from tobacco, they merely licked a cake directly (M.P.).

M.P.'s uncle and aunt ate a little tobacco every night: "a person couldn't sleep if they went to bed full."

The shell used for the lime constituent [226] was the freshwater oyster; the shell alone was called či´'u, the whole thing "when alive," [481] ka´'up:č. The oysters were got at Woodlake; men dove for them or reached down off rafts; they were just visible on top of the mud.

Pipes.---A cigarette of cane (ka´dk:d) was cut 6 to 8 inches long. The mouth end was filled with a little coil of fine cord, and tobacco, crumbled into tiny pebble-like pieces, was packed into the other end. The cigarette was ignited with a glowing twig. The cane burned down as it was smoked, yet it lasted a

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[522] Coyote man" [i.e., of Coyote lineage] who did so (S.G.).

The methods used by the shaman Haičača were offered by J.P. and M.P. as examples of the customary curing procedure. (See also Anecdote 10 below.)

[237] Haičača had dreamed of Falcon (l:m:k). He then bought a falcon head from someone, skinned it, leaving the beak intact, and filled the skin with fine tule shreds. He hung beads on threads run through its nostrils, and wrapped the whole thing in many strands of beads. These were never removed even when he was curing. When curing, Haičača dipped the falcon head in water and ran his hands over it. Then he laid it down and rubbed his hands over his patient. This was used on one case, then was useless until he dreamed of Falcon again.

He had an eagle head similarly prepared [237] with which he cured J.P.'s back.

He had a long bear claw (Bear was his family totem), which he used to cure a woman in 755 labor. It was used like the falcon head. He 845 also blew on the woman's back and abdomen. Kneeling before her, he placed his hands on her hips and gently shook her twice. "This made the baby come."

755 Haičača did not sing when curing: he conversed prayerfully with his supernatural helpers (ain:č) and to Water which was helping him. Since the water he used was obtained at Gutsnumi, he addressed it as "Gutsnum." Water was [776 a powerful helper. At Gutsnumi there was an 823] underwater person who was adverse to strangers swimming there and pulled them under. Like eagle down, Water was a general assistant in supernatural matters and to dream of it was a propitious indication of its willingness to help one, yet it was not a tutelary in quite the same sense, not so personified perhaps, as a flesh-and-blood creature like Cougar, Eagle, Owl, etc.

Miscellaneous Powers

754 Contagious magic.--While the practice of
789 contagious magic was not developed, it was clearly recognized, and Wukchumni took precautions against leaving their hair, saliva, discarded clothing, etc., available to malicious shamans. S.G. denied the practice to the Wukchumni, saying that they left their hair and soiled clothing wherever they wished; he attributed the evil to "southerners." It is difficult in cases described, to distinguish between this idea and that of poisoning, and I am not sure that a difference exists, save that in poisoning an actual contact between the person and the poisoned object seems to be necessary. In either event some very personal possession of the intended victim, such as hair combings, or a piece of dress, is treated with some virulent material or "poison." Whether the

754 poison is real or imaginary I could not dis-
789 cover.[255]

Airshot.---Shamans of any standing were believed capable of sending intrusive objects into other persons. Such objects were called by the word for arrowhead, tu'yoš, in English, "airshot." Properly speaking, airshot is the invisible shot which shamans used in the Shamans' Contest, but the English and native words are used loosely for all intrusive objects. These objects might be grains of sand, a beetle, a cougar's whisker, or a shaman's own beard hair, fingernails or seeds. "Some kinds of shot knocked you down while others hardly hurt at all. The same doctor could make [i.e., propel] different kinds" (S.G.).

056 All shamans used a basketry tray (tai'iwan,
285] Wukchumni, bo'gtu, Patwisha), similar to the woman's gambling tray but larger and handsomer, as the basis or foundation from which the shot was propelled. The shot was set off either by blowing across the tray or slapping it face downward on the ground.

[821] The invisible airshot was derived from the
756 sun. It was made from nothing (i'a'mči, lit.,
754 nothing). The shamans prayed to the sun, grabbed toward it with the hands, and then
789 rubbed them on the tray where the shot appeared
781 looking like buckshot, fish eggs, seeds, pebbles.[256] This all disappeared when the shamans again rubbed their hands over the tray.

825 According to J.P., this same airshot could
756 be transformed into living creatures. Thus a
789 shaman would "blow airshot off his tray and it
754 would change into an owl that went and talked to the doctor's victim. Sometimes it would be a coyote -- they are mean just like owl." While owls and coyotes are the customary servants of shamans, other informants indicated that these were living animals, not magically created ones, which were under shamans' commands.

756 Transformation.---The Wukchumni believed
789 that persons with supernatural power, not
778 necessarily shamans, could transform themselves under conditions of great stress into the form of their animal dream helper. (See Holoanči's experience, above, and Anecdote 4, below.)

[613] Bear transformation was believed possible for persons of the Bear lineage, provided they had dreamed of Bear and had sufficient ṭ'pni to accomplish it. Men did this, never women. It was not a common practice and I could secure no stories or anecdotes concerning it, and at least one informant denied it in toto.

789 Flying power.---The power of flying through
756 space, while mentioned, was only incidental. Thus in an escape, for example, the distressed person suddenly found himself a safe distance away from his threatened danger. The power

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[255] Vide J.P.'s experiences, Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 403.

[256] Whatever similie informants used in attempting to describe airshot, the common element was a granular aspect.

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789 was not developed as a specific ability by Wukchumni shamans as it was with those of Western Mono.

Rain-making

No Wukchumni or Gawia had power to control weather, to the knowledge of present-day informants. The only person M.P. ever saw affect the weather was a doctor named Elá'mki who came up from Kern River. He visited her uncle, Haičača, who asked him to make rain. Elamki had a basket of water, and as he sang, he dipped the end of a special sort of stone in the water and with it sprinkled water in all directions. Then he picked up handfuls of earth and threw after the water. Then he lay down to sleep. He had been asked to make a hard rain. And so he did. It rained so hard that Haičača had to give Elamki a dollar and ask him to make it stop.

Killing of Shamans

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754 Shamans were feared because of their ability to cause sickness and death. Not only did they secure fees by this means, but by threats of misuse of their power were able to demand "gifts." Three anecdotes of malicious Wukchumni shamans have been previously published.[257]

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756 When a shaman was believed to be a public menace, the chief of the village of his victims would give those who wanted revenge permission to kill him. Usually the outranged relatives of the shaman's most recent victim would be the ones to do this; they might be joined by other avengers. Sometimes a man who was known for his reckless bravery (hi'auta) would be hired to do the killing. There was a risk even in killing a shaman, for his powerful ghost might return to do further harm.

683 Such killings, however, were not infrequent, and the shaman who lived above suspicion was fortunate. Apparently the desire for wealth and social power caused shamans to pursue their uneasy life. "Doctors did not like to hear shooting -- they always ran" (J.B.).

A typical account of a shaman's death was given by M.S., the Yaudanchi. Her mother remarried, this time to Ki'paţ, a Patwisha [?] shaman. They all lived at Cihoi'li. Someone "from near Clovis" (Gashowu territory) had a grudge against Kipat and enlisted the aid of Košowi, an Entimbich shaman, for revenge. Košowi induced Kipat to drink a decoction of jimsonweed and, while the latter was in a stupefied condition, the aggrieved man came up and killed him. After Kipat was buried, a tremendous wind arose, so great that "it fright-

[257] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 394-395, 403.

539 778 825 1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

756 located, Čoiš.šu (dog place); the correct name is pački.

Anecdotes of Supernatural and Curing Experiences

787 776 1. J.P.'s grandmother, Pono´sa, dreamed of a roadrunner which came and hopped on her hand; it told her how to help women in labor. She was not a professional doctor: "this was just her ain:c" [dream helper].

2. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši, was a snake handler; J.P.'s poša was Rattlesnake.[259] Once J.P. was bitten by a rattlesnake; [752] he went to his uncle, who cut off the snake, put it in a bag, and later released it near a rock pile. The uncle sucked the wound and put ashes on it; he told J.P. never to kill a snake.

3. In 1926, J.P.'s horse, while grazing, was bitten on the nose by a rattlesnake. It was sick for a week yet recovered although J.P. did nothing to cure it. J.P. said, "It got well because Rattlesnake is my poša. Anybody else's horse would have died. Yes, sir!"

787 789 776 4. J.P.'s maternal great-uncle, Holo'anši was of the Rattlesnake lineage. He had the special power of being invulnerable to bullets, having "dreamed of a gun that didn't go off" [sic]. He dreamed thus:

He was down in a gulley. Two men came along and shot at him, but the bullets did not penetrate his clothes. They called to him to come up, but instead he flew out of his clothes and landed on the far side of the [Kaweah] river. There he turned into a rattlesnake "so that even the horses could not see him."

An analogue to this dream occurred soon after. The old man was down by the river when two white men, one of whom was John Doe,[260] came by on horseback. They called to him and, when he did not respond, shot at him. "The bullets came right at him but didn't hurt him." He called on his poša: instantly he turned into a rattlesnake and slipped away in the underbrush.

J.P. added that dreams of invulnerability were common.

756 789 237 5. The power of flying, known to northern neighbors of the Wukchumni, was mentioned by S.O.

A shaman from Kings River came down to a Wukchumni celebration a long time ago. He was going to be killed by some avengers, but someone warned him. He had three strings of eagle-down cord each about five feet long. At this ceremony he walked out across the assembly space dragging the talismans behind him. Suddenly he vanished from sight. After the trouble was over he reappeared again.

756 787 6. J.B. told of a man who dreamed he was chased by a ghost (tawatsa) all the way from Dunlap to Drum Valley. When he arrived there, a shaman already knew what had happened and told of it. "Doctors always knew what other people dreamed."

[259] He followed his maternal lineage totem because his paternal ancestry was part white.

[260] J.P. added, "John Doe went blind because he wasn't a good man. He had a lot of white doctors to help him but he didn't treat them right."

755 Kawu was H.L.'s father and mother's cousin of M.P.; he was a Yauelmani. He was ill for a very long time, and a shaman who diagnosed his case said "that he had a water snake in his stomach that kept trying to get out through his navel." But the shaman was afraid to cut deep enough to suck it out. Finally Kawu went up Kern River to a big waterfall called Kono'ʻ lkʻn. Fish was his poša so he called on the fish to help him. He dived into a deep pool below the fall. While he was under the water a rainbow trout (epʻs) went down into his stomach. When Kawu returned home, he lay down outside his house and told his wife to tell everyone in the village to come near. This was done. Then his wife called to the fish, and it popped out of his mouth. Then Kawu sat up and told his friend, Noho'no, to cut the fish open and see what was in it. Inside the fish was a bloody water snake. "Kawu got well right away."

A little later on Kawu was bitten on the ankle by a rattlesnake. The snake fell over, stunned, on the ground. Said Kawu to the snake, "Why do you bite me? Do you want to kill me?" Then he ran to the river and, calling on his poša [Fish], jumped in. Immediately many trout came, sucked his wound, and saved him. The water was thick with fish. "He went home and sent everybody down to gig them."[265]

787 12. If an undesirable dream came to a person, he was privileged to ignore it. J.P. dreamed about an owl which told him he was going to be a curing doctor. But as J.P. did not want to be a doctor, "he didn't pay any attention to it."

13. Similarly J.P. rejected offers of Rattlesnake to make him a Rattlesnake shaman.

[756] J.P.'s grandfather was a Rattlesnake shaman, and this reptile was the family totem. "The snakes would only go to somebody whose ancestors were Rattlesnake people." J.P. dreamed of rattlesnakes many times. People wanted him to participate in the annual Rattlesnake Ritual that was held to prevent people from being bitten. He dreamed a rattlesnake came right up to his feet. It said to him, "When are you going to start that dancing?" And J.P. replied, "I am not going to start that dancing. I'm not going to handle you."

14. M.L. said that when she was young she dreamed about her future husband. Later she dreamed she was talking to her children and, as they grew up, this helped her to talk with and advise them. She added that in old times, when [178 262] the meat tabu was more strictly observed, an ill person would dream of something that would help him and he would begin to feel better. "That doesn't happen any more because people eat too much meat and grease."

Miscellaneous Practices and Beliefs

789 825 A woman going seed-gathering in the spring and summer would smear her forearms and legs

[825] [265] There are a few other instances of a man's indifference to the killing or eating of his poša although he would not do either himself. The attitude of informants was that "it didn't matter," particularly if the animal involved was a common food (cf. Michahai and the winatum's pigeon booth, Pt. II).

[P. 1156] Wukchumni

789 with tobacco as rattlesnakes were said to abhor
825 the smell and would go away. Shiny ornaments,
[301] such as an abalone-shell pendant, were worn in the fields in spring as they would startle the snakes and make them rattle.

But such ornaments were dangerous to wear
789 at other seasons because they attracted thunder
301 [lightning]. S.G. related the following as an
821 illustration.

When S.G. was about fifteen, his father remarried. The new wife had a small boy whom the father hated. The man put an abalone pendant (tu´ta) on the child and told him to go sit under a certain tree. Soon the lightning struck the youngster and his dog. S.G. was not far away, and carried the burned child home. This happened at Pupunao.

To wear an abalone ornament on any cloudy day would invite a thunderstorm, according to M.P.; M.L. said the ornaments offended Thunder, "made him get mad."

755 A black substance from underground (bitu-
[823] men?) was heated on a rock, then applied to the top of the head to rid one of bad dreams caused by ghosts.

825 Goldfinches (soi´soi) sat out in the brush and whistled to people when it was time for them to gather blackberries. M.L. knew of no other bird or animal who did such a thing.

776 At Gutsnumi, in the bottom of the swimming pool, lived an old woman named Moča´ta who pounded acorns all day long. If a stranger went to swim there, she would grab his feet and pull him down to her house. (Not long ago a flood came bringing quantities of sand which spoiled the pool as a swimming place.)

552 A railroad train is called hu´da (lit., it cries) in reference to its whistle.

PLEASURE DANCES

796 Evenings spent in pleasure with professional entertainment occurred not more than once a month in any one village, as there was so much intertribal and intervillage visiting for all such festivities. The kind of dances that were given by the shamans depended upon the chief's choice. His winatum would tell the shamans what to dance. Besides the regular schedule of
[535] dances -- Bear Dance, Snake Ritual, Beaver Dance, etc. -- there was the dance for entertainment called the kam or watiyod performed by shamans all the year round.

Kam

535 The kam was one of a few dances performed purely for the entertainment of spectators. Whether the dance was always the same, i.e., had specific songs and steps which differenti-

769 535 The Huhunata approached with mincing, half-turning steps, trembling continuously, knocking their own two sticks together and whistling a high repeated note. They began to look for the money, pointing to it with their sticks, and a winatum disclosed it. Sometimes "even the winatum could not find it so they had to dig it out themselves." M.L. said she was frightened when they drew near her. All the money they found they kept in little skin sacks which hung over their shoulders.

After all the money had been found, a shaman (on this occasion, Šaˊmaka, a Wukchumni) entered dressed in full regalia. He sat down on the edge of the dance space. The chief gave him a tray (taiˊʔiwan) and a winatum built a fire beside him. The shaman rose, swung his hand feather bunch (sonːl) over the fire, then held his tray up to the sun to get airshot. Then he exposed it to the audience so all could see the seedlike "bullets" adhering to it. The winatum took the tray to one of the Huhuna and "asked him if he wanted to die by it." The Huhuna replied "that it was not strong enough." So the shaman strengthened it, and on second inspection Huhuna was satisfied. When the tray was returned to the shaman, he banged it violently on the ground twice. Each time a Huhuna "fell over dead." Two winatums carried them to one side, and immediately the host spectators came dragging long strands of money [152] which the winatums threw over the prostrate victims. Everyone present wept.

All the visiting Yokod sat down behind their men. Then a Yokod shaman entered, revived his two compatriots, and, making airshot at the fire, bowled over the Wukchumni shaman, who was in turn revived by a fellow shaman. The Huhunata received all the money thrown on them, but from this they had to pay their singers who had been singing for them throughout the performance. The local chief paid his own shamans for their part. J.P. said the affair lasted from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Shamans' Contest

756 769 769 The preliminary to the Shamans' Contest was called gokosyu nːt. It was a more or less spontaneous affair and, if held at all, preceded the real contest as a sort of trial. The entrants in this were said to be "warming up" for the big contest. "Any kind" of shaman might enter, but never Bear Dancers. In this little contest a single powerful shaman would sometimes take on two or three lesser ones. This trial also permitted novices to test their skill before entering the more dangerous fracas.

The Shamans' Contest (hːˊšwaš) was held on the fifth day [Friday] of the week of the

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 128 b] Wukchumni

Annual Mourning Ceremony.[280] The contestants were aligned by tribe (J.P., M.L., and J.B.); the two sides might be composed of shamans from different tribes (M.P., S.G., and Tm.W.). I am inclined to accept the first opinion which I think not only represents the correct theory but was practically possible in the days before the decline of population. As indicated by J.B.'s lists (see "Reciprocity" above), a single tribe could provide several shamans at once. According to J.B. and M.L. these tribal alignments were further regarded as Tokelyuwich and Nutuwich (see p. 98) and the opposing sides took up western and eastern positions on the assembly space.

Within the dance space a number of fires were built in a row, one for each entrant, of whom there might be four to eight. Each shaman had a coiled basketry tray (tai'iwan) which he held in the smoke of his fire, then raised aloft, face outward, in his right hand and shook toward the sun. The sun's power caused the magic missiles called airshot (tu´yoš), "which looked like a bug or something," to appear on the tray. S.G. said that the airshot looked like buckshot. The doctors held their hands up to the sun, from which the airshot came, made grabbing motions, and then rubbed their hands together, thereby making the shot invisible. Sometimes the doctors would test their shot before entering the contest by propelling it at trees and shooting off pine needles, for example. S.G. thought that shamans never assisted each other in the process of shot-making, and no other informant implied that they did. It was customary for winatums to ask for a show of airshot from a shaman before permitting him to proceed in the contest. Theoretically this was to protect an unskilled shaman from exposing himself recklessly to injury, but it seems possible that the audience was equally desirous of getting its money's worth and did not wish to be duped by unfit entrants; all entrants were paid.

The contestants were all dressed in the shaman's usual regalia: feather crowns and plumes, swirling skirts of eagle-down cord tipped with bluejay or flicker feathers, wrist bands of weasel skin, feather bunches hanging from wrists, elbows, and knees, garlands of eagle-down cord looped like bandoleers, and quail-crest ear plugs (fig. 8, d).

On the end opposite the fires sat a group of singers using clappers and singing for both sides. They too wore feather headdresses and perhaps other ornaments which, I understand, were not infrequently borrowed.

The audience sat under the surrounding shades. Although betting on the winners was

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[280] M.P.'s statement that it occurred on the last day after the ritual washing is perhaps due to her recollections of aberrant Waksachi practice, as the Wukchumni were reciprocants on the occasion of Waksachi mourning ceremonies (cf. Michahai-Waksachi, Pt. II).

heavy, there were no shouts or urgings from the onlookers as there were at games: the spectators watched in sober silence.

The shamans assembled in two groups at opposite ends of the assembly space. With them were youths and boys carrying "long poles, pieces of brush, or anything they wanted to grab" (J.P.). When ready, the shamans in single file, followed by their winatums and by the youths waving the poles, advanced toward the center. A man on each side would cry "Hu·'u·'o·'o·'o·'" three times, and the audience would respond three times with "A·'a·'a·h!" During the contest, the youths kept up a continuous explosive grunting while parading and a sort of "Oh'! oh'! oh'!". The two lines of contestants passed around each other in two arcs and came to a halt facing each other about thirty feet apart. The shamans were ranged in a single row while their more exuberant young cohorts remained behind at a safe distance. When the chief ordered them to start, all the shamans raised their trays in the air, shook them and, whirling so that their backs were turned to their opponents, slammed their trays face downward on the ground. Each time this was done a shot flew from the tray at a rival, and this was repeated until the rival fell unconscious or the aggressor himself fell a victim. As the men dropped they were carried off to a shade by two winatums who were paid by the host group (unless the shaman had a personal winatum to aid him). This magic bombardment continued until only two shamans remained on their feet. This crisis always seems to have been attained. They fought a long time; the best man was believed to have the greatest supernatural gifts. Such men remained to the last because of their ability to pick the airshot off themselves at the very instant it hit, whereas others were knocked down. The weasel-skin wristlets served as protectors of the vulnerable spot on the wrist; the weasels "swallowed" the shots. When one of this last pair finally fell, the victor staggered backward exhausted, and, assisted by winatums, reclined panting under a shade.

Now the host chief called his people together. His winatums collected money and gifts which were distributed to the chiefs of the tribes whose shamans had participated in the contest. Everyone present was crying. "They cried and cried right up to the middle of the night" (J.P.).

In the meantime the injured shamans were being revived. A host winatum went to the winner and asked him to remove the shot from his fallen rival. J.P. maintained that they got doctors who had not participated to revive the others, but M.L., S.G., and J.B. claimed that each shaman in turn revived those men who had been his victims. The revival was accomplished by the brushing method of curing. A shaman took a feather from his headdress or

used his hand feather bunch to brush down the body of the patient. A winatum held a tray beside him upon which the doctor shook or squeezed off the granular airshot from the feathers. The shot was taken away and burned.

M.L. and S.G. said that all the shamans were paid by the spectators who had thrown down their strings of bead money on a tray provided by a winatum, while the contestants lay unconscious. From this sum the shamans paid their singers and, if they had them, their own personal winatums. They also paid a good share to their chief.

In discussing the revivings, J.P. said that at this time "chiefs would bribe each other's doctors if they wanted to get rid of one that was knocked out." If any of the magic ammunition was permitted to remain in a victim, "he died in about three days," or at best would linger on for a month. This might be done then deliberately, or the victim might be left totally unconscious with the claim that he could not be brought to.[261]

Corpse-Handlers' Dance

On the morning of the sixth day (Saturday) the group of people known as tonoč:m who handled corpses, supervised their burial, and sang the funereal songs, had a little ritual of their own; it was the finale of the daily ritual singing and weeping. J.B. described this performance as he had witnessed it at Hoganu, a Wukchumni village.

There were about six or seven tonoč:m, Telamni, Wukchumni, and Entimbich,[262] some of them men, some women [that any of them were berdaches he denied]. A few regular singers (hide´t:č) using cocoon rattles sat in the assembly space and sang while the tonoč:m approached in single file, the men leading. The men carried long poles in their right hands and had their faces painted black, whereas the women held both fists up before their shoulders, carried burden baskets on their backs, and wore wigs of long false human hair which trailed on the ground. The wig had no beak;[263] it was tied on with a band which passed around the forehead and the tumpline helped hold it in place. They danced past the visitors and lined up, while the active mourners lined up facing them with the payment for their services. As the tonoč:m danced and sang, along with the singer accompanists, the mourners threw the gifts, which were usually payment in kind rather than money, at

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[261] The full implications of this malpractice have been discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans.

[262] The inclusion of Entimbich is very dubious and probably an interpolation due to J.B.'s many years of association with Entimbich at Dunlap. Possibly he meant Wakasachi, if any Western Mono tonoč:m were present.

[263] As Kroeber describes for the Tachi (Handbook, 500).

769 laugh, play, and have a good time. The afternoon was devoted to games and dancing (see section on "Games").

769 426 During the afternoon the host chief and his subchiefs (tuye'i) assembled to settle the payment of debts for food supplied either by visitors or by members of their own tribe. This type of debt was called hočao´'ɨšna. Such a meeting would take place when the financing of any general tribal ceremony was necessary, not alone after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. The chief made a set speech: "We must now pay off our debt" (soi´'inad mai hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., pay you debt our). To which the subchiefs answered: "We will dispose of our debt" (ama´mai du´haš hočao'ɨšna mayɨn; lit., we-will dispose-of debt our). Then the chief's winatum collected money from all, and the visiting chief's winatums accepted it for their chief who in turn distributed it among his own people. Any other persons who should be paid off at this time were given money by the host winatums. It not infrequently happened that chiefs, subchiefs, and members of the mourning tribe were completely insolvent after one of these affairs.

769 While daylight lasted the shamans of the host tribe danced, but in the evening, when fires illumined the assembly space, those of either the reciprocant or spectator tribes danced. This dancing was kept up all night or at least as long as the hosts were willing to pay for it to continue. No shaman danced and no singer sang for nothing on public occasions. The dance was the watiyod customarily given for entertainment at any time (see section on "Pleasure Dances").

The following morning another general breakfast was eaten and the visitors began leaving for home.

J.B.'s Account

769 756 ●789 J.B.'s account of the mourning ceremony was curtailed and confused. It is given merely because it differs in what may be some significant respects from the descriptions by other informants. He did not assign a definite order to the series of ceremonies, but stated that the Shamans' Contest took place every morning of the week of the affair.

The Shamans' Contest he called ku´kesyu´ñɨt, saying that to kill by means of fire [?] or poison [?] was called kuku´siyɨč. Two doctors and a singer (uda´kɨč) took part. The singer with his clapper came [to the dance space] first. Each shaman had a winatum who built a fire for him. Then the shamans themselves came and each made airshot at his fire. They tried to kill each other. One of the shamans would be from a visiting tribe, and the people who came with him, i.e., his chief, singer, winatum, were always paid for the spectacle. "Any

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 MS29 Yokuts MS29
[P. 131b] Wukchumni

769 people who wanted their doctors to make money could have them go into this fight if they liked."

756 789 The Huhuna Dance, J.B. said, was seen only at mourning ceremonies at Lemoore, Porterville, and Lemon Cove [that is, Tachi, Yaudanchi, and Wukchumni]. It was danced in the afternoon toward the end of the week, on Thursday or Friday. The most noted Huhuna dancer was Čamčušan, a Yaudanchi; a Choinimni named Ho'tːs was also a Huhuna dancer. His costume consisted of a long feather-covered dress, and he had pieces of abalone shells (ṭu'ḍṭud) fastened over his eyes [on the net headgear, presumably]. Under his left arm hung a skin purse in which he put the money he found.

769 535 After he had given the usual exhibition of money-finding, his winatum would tell him he was to be killed. The shaman chosen for this task was usually Čokonːk, although J.B. had seen Ma'mːl, a "Southerner" do it also. The shaman made airshot at a fire and knocked Huhuna unconscious. Two winatums carried him aside, then the shaman would restore him. For this spectacle both Huhuna and the shaman were paid by the host [mourning] tribe.

769 The last, or Saturday, night of the ceremony the burning of images took place. This was called ahana n̄ːt. Only the hosts took part; the visitors looked on. A large fire burned in the center of the dance space. The chief, mourning families, and others proceeded around [48] it (anticlockwise) in a long file, stepping high and stamping. Women of the mourning families carried the effigies of the dead (woi'dowːš) while both men and women carried long poles to which were affixed baskets and [198] beads for the visitors. The poles were carried in one hand while the other hand patted the mouth to produce a long ululation, long and doleful rather than staccato, and the poles were waved in the air. At the end of the second circuit of the fire the mourners cast the effigies on the fire. At the same time the poles were thrown to the visitors who scrambled for the money and treasures; this part of the [184] ritual was called kaːmːts. This custom of tossing the poles was followed by Wukchumni, Telamni, Gawia, Yokod, and Yaudanchi, whereas the Mill Creek people (Choinimni and Western Mono) kept the poles until the time of the ritual washing when the gifts were presented to the washers.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

177 668 796 The introduction of the Ghost Dance was attributed by J.B. to Joi'joi, a Mono man, "a Holiuma maybe," from the northeast.[*] "He went

[text continues on p. 133]

[*] The course of the Ghost Dance of 1870 among Yokuts and Western Mono has been described previously (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

131 7. šu´lmao: Charlie Drake's place
8. kapa´no: long hill lying northeast to southwest on east side of valley
9. toi´yok: high peak northwest of no. 5
10. wiše´lao: hill between no. 5 and no. 9
11. wo´nyu: village site on flat
12. to´po: hill south of no. 4
13. kiwe´yu
14. soiyo´´o
15. wai´yo: seed-gathering camp
16. busuta´o: a "bald" hill
17. ka´lpo: an isolated hill

Not definitely located: 18, did:´pča: a spring near Jeff Long's ranch; 19, opn:´nyu: a Chukaimina campsite on Pughe's ranch; 20, po´o´lo: a Chukaimina summer camp on Bill Curtis's: [?] place; 21, mašt:´nao: most important Chukaimina village.

592 The informant Mo. could recall only four houses and their inmates at Maštinao.

1. Mo.'s home; she lived there with her father and mother. She claimed her "brother and sister were already dead."
2. Mo.'s father's brother, Šo´´ok (Copperhead) lived alone. He had been married, for his son's daughter was mentioned as "Mike's wife."
3. Mo.'s father's sister, Meyu´lat, married Pu´lkos; their son was Pus:n:nwait (P.M.). [P.M. said his father was Toihitcha, a not contradictory statement.]
4. Mo.'s father's female cousin, Koi´yut, married a grandson of Puš1:l:n named Ai´jo (Jack); their daughter was Ai´n:k (Lillie).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

843 The following information was entirely from Mo.

She said there were no prenatal tabus for the expectant Chukaimina mother or father.

844 Birth took place in the house. The mother was assisted by her own mother, sister, grandmother or, if none of her own kin were near by, some of her husband's women relatives would help. There was no rule. The woman squatted over a depression in the floor, and the attendant caught the baby on a basket tray (čo´pai). The cord was cut with a cane knife (si´k:d) to about four inches in length; the end was turned back and tied with milkweed string. When the stump fell off, it "was made into a ball with beads" and hung on the hood of the second cradle. After the child abandoned the cradle, the stump was put in an anthill so the child would become industrious.

● [789]

846 A hot pit was prepared for the mother in her own house. A depression was filled with coals and hot ashes, then earth, then grass and mats laid over these. The mother remained on this for ten days but she rose every three or four hours for a renewal of the coals. For the

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[P. 151b] Choinimni

[783] Ceremonial washing was done on the morning of the sixth day; the Huhuna Dance 769 in the afternoon, after which the usual games 535 and pleasure dances were indulged in. This arrangement may be quite correct, for the Huhuna Dance appears here to be without "mourning" significance and is nothing more than a display. While it is unusual to have display dances such as the Bear Dance and kam on the first days, the program for these days was somewhat plastic, even in the Kaweah River area.

619 Reciprocity at mourning ceremonies was 769 primarily intertribal; secondarily, by moiety opposition. Most frequently it was the Michahai and Chukaimina who served the Choinimni as 616 "washers," but often the Aiticha and Wechihit were the reciprocants.

769 A special camp was made with brush shelters and shades. The winatums of the host tribe got wood and water for the visitors. Every morning and evening just before sunrise and sunset a group of singers went outside of the camp and sang mourning songs and wailed. The relatives of the deceased and any others dolefully inclined joined in. When the singers clapped their hands, the performance ceased. Some of the visitors played games during the day, but not the hosts, and sometimes "the old people felt too bad and cried all day."

During the first two or three days, it seems, the Bear Dance might be given in the day or evening "if the chief wanted it."

In the daytime or evening the kam also might be danced. Usually two Wechihit dancers, whose names P.D.W. did not recall, were the men who did this. They wore the usual ceremonial regalia.

769 On the fourth day the Shamans' Contest 756 (hɛ ʔwaš) was held. So far as P.D.W.'s incoherent description can be followed, the contest ● 789 was essentially the same as elsewhere. It took place in the early afternoon. There were four doctors on each side, of whom Pušlːlːn and Kaplːlːn are the only ones remembered. In making their "airshot" (toiyoš) they used no fire, it "was just grabbed from the sun," although P.D.W. claimed no "talking to" [praying to] the sun was involved. As they made their seizing gestures from the sun toward their basketry trays on which the shot appeared, *they exhaled heavily and jerkily, saying "hᵉ! hᵉ! hᵉ!"* The airshot "looked just like white fish eggs; it could be shot about 50 feet." The surviving doctor in the contest was always [?] Kaplːlːn.

769 The fifth night brought the climax of crying and image burning. The "Cry Dance" was called aha ʔna. The mourning relatives, who had been in retirement during the day, made two excursions out to the central fire during the night, carrying with them the images or "dolls" (ta ʔwːts nao ʔa, dead made-like), which were not raised on poles. P.D.W. expressed puzzlement over the images and said he did not think

[Lit. of the mourning ceremony. —Analyst]

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EP. 157b] Dunn A

755 Another doctor, "Dr. Baldy," a Gashowu, cut and sucked the chest of a baby who had pneumonia: "the white doctor had given it up." The next morning the baby was improved and recovered.

Bear Shamans

756 789 [184] Bear shamans, according to B.W., did not have anything to do with the acorn crop, as in the Central Foothills, but were persons who had dream power from Bear and used it for display and intimidation of others.

His brother (Nipəč), Te'wus (Sam Smith) was a bear man and doctor. "He danced any time for show and to get money." The two men would walk somewhere at dusk to visit people; on the way, when they reached a big log, Tewus would turn himself into a bear. This frightened B.W. very much. At the display dances which Tewus gave he would dance in the fire without being burned. Sometimes one or two bears appeared and danced with him.

Once when Tewus was walking up a very steep hill toward a mining shaft, a huge boulder from above came rolling down and injured him badly. He was ill from five to six months. During that time three bears came each night to visit and to cure him. Tewus talked to them prayerfully and asked their help. He got well "because of those bears." (See the Kechayi version of this from E.M., below.)

Rain-making

756 789 B.W. said his father was a rain shaman. He would predict the weather: if he said it would rain no more for the season, people would then pay him to make it rain. However, he could make it rain for as long as he wished -- one week to a month. Then people paid him to make it stop. Women could not pound acorns when it rained, as the holes in their bedrock mortars were filled with water. He deliberately made rain to discomfit others and be paid, said B.W.

To do this, he donned the usual shamanistic regalia -- crown of feathers and feather skirt. He carried a wačam (a bunch of magpie feathers) in his hand, which he dipped into a large basket of water, sprinkling the water about. (Informant did not know if there was sprinkling in certain directions.) He "danced for three or four days, or all night." Then it rained soon. While the sprinkling was going on, B.W.'s brother sang for his father:

si li ka'na·ha· (water)
[repeated six times]

te·pːn i te'i (tːpni)

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[P. 158 Q] DUMNA

756
789

ko ˊno·no·

si li ka ˊna·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se·ˊel) and water (i ˊl·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

775 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the yaˊy·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior
821 by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Yaˊol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša ˊmiu, spring, about February to April; haiˊaˊlu, summer, May to October; tomo ˊksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (taˊnai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

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[42] Wobonuch and Chumut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 166 b] Kechayi

846 After the birth occurred, the mother drank only warm acorn soup (li'mɨn) for six days or until the umbilical stump fell off. After that she ate only soups and seed food (lu'kɨn) for two months.

[849] The father was not under any tabus during pregnancy, E.M. believes, but after the birth he ate nothing hard or greasy until the stump came off. He also did no hard work for one moon [month].

[841 343] There was no separate hut for birth or menses.

844 At the time of birth a girl's own mother or elder sister helped her. She lay on her back during labor (E.M. was uncertain on this point). [237] A bear claw was soaked in water and the liquid was drunk to make hard labor easier. [616] A woman of either moiety could use this. The umbilicus was cut with a sharp bone or clam-[823] shell; flint was tabu, and E.M. never saw a cane knife used. The afterbirth was buried in the ground. The mother lay on the hot bed of ashes only if she were very ill or her back ached.

854 [603] When the baby was born its paternal grandfather brought the first cradle (bi''ɨč), which had been made by a paternal aunt. This cradle was of soft willows and had a hoop awning.[65] The baby remained on this for two months, at [553] the end of which time it was named, removed to its permanent cradle (ahɨ'lɨč), and the mother was cleansed.

846 When the navel stump fell off it was put in a piece of buckskin and hung with a few strands of beads to the cradle hood for the baby to play with. If the stump were lost, the child would be subject to nausea. When the child left the cradle, the stump was removed [856 787] from it; for a boy it was placed in an oak tree so he would become a good climber, but for a girl it was put in an anthill to make her industrious.

854 553 At the end of two months the baby was put on its second cradle, and received a name selected by its paternal grandfather or grandmother. For a boy, the paternal grandfather's name was chosen, for a girl, her oldest paternal aunt's.[66] At the same time a "party" was given for the mother by these paternal relatives -- her husband's family. She was washed, dressed in new clothes, and partook of meat again.

844 846 The food and working tabus for both parents were observed only for the first child. But the use of the cradles, preservation of the navel stump, and the naming "party" were carried out for all offspring.

845 Twins were thought by some to be a misfortune. This was because of the belief that they were difficult to raise. Before visitors

[65] The hoop awning, E.M. explained, is useful only when the infant is supine; cradles of small babies were not stood upright.

[66] [611] A rule more of theory than of practice, as the genealogies indicate. The important point is the emphasis on the male line.

756 it by making minor cures), he gave a public dance (a ʼnuṭûn ti ʼša) at which he cured a patient. This formal announcement of his professional status began with dancing in the sweat house. He wore all the usual regalia, and had one or two singers to sing for his dancing. Any man who wished might go in to watch, but women never entered. As he danced, his power talked to him and told him when it was time for him to go outside to continue the dancing and make the cure. This is the source of the name for the ritual, literally, "doctor's going-out" or "doctor's emergence." After his emergence he told, as he sang, of his supernatural experience. Then he cured the patient who was already there.

If a doctor did not wish to start his ritual inside the sweat house, he could begin outdoors, but in that case he had to have some older and established shaman dance with him.

At his debut and on later occasions a wise young man would be discreet about his disclosures concerning his supernatural power. To give the impression of having much power would engender jealousy among the older shamans, who might injure his power or even kill him.

756 A distinction was made between the doctor
● 788 (a ʼnṭu) who had to cut and suck in order to cure, and the doctor with power (mɛts añṭu, true, actual, great doctor) who cured with rubbing or brushing. The latter, whose course of training is given above, cured by dipping a weasel skin (ču ʼduñ) in water and stroking it over the patient. The sickness was squeezed from the skin onto a tray, removed by the doctor's winatum, and burned.

756 There were no other special classes of
[535 doctors. Men with Bear power were regarded as
788] dancers, not doctors, "though they had plenty of ṭɨpni."

In this connection E.M. said the Choinimni P.D.W. was sufficiently trained to do curing by rubbing as well as by cutting and sucking. Two years ago (1927) he had come to the Friant rancheria and given the ceremony for general preventative curing. They were expecting him to come again soon for the same purpose.

Fees.--A doctor who failed to cure would return the fee itself or objects of equal value. If a patient were very sick and obviously unlikely to recover, the doctor might refuse to take the case. If he had come from far away, he would be paid -- and he would accept -- something as recompense for his futile trip.

Sometimes a doctor would be killed for losing a patient. If the doctor were from another tribe, he and his chief would meet the bereaved family and their chief for the purpose of making a financial adjustment. During the discussion the bereaved persons "might get so mad they would kill the doctor and his chief right on the spot." [E.M. could not substantiate this with a case; it was "just what she had heard."]

said this was danced at any ceremony if asked for.

E.M. saw Goh:l and another Bear dancer named Jo´n:š do the dance. They wore the vertical feather ču on their heads, bear paws on their chests. The whole bear skin was not used. Brown paint covered their faces, and black was put around or over the upper lip "to look like Bear," and covered their arms and bodies. The dance lasted two nights. On the first, they took turns: one sang while the other danced and vice versa. On the second, they both sang and danced together. There was no change in dress or dancing on the second night. The cocoon rattle (ša´nači) was used in accompaniment. The actual dance was very short, "like bears dance," with a sort of jumping step. It was done twice only by each performer. Then they pretended to dance into the fire and frightened people. They turned into bears as they danced, but Čokon:k's daughter, who sometimes danced with them, did not undergo transformation.

E.M. said Goh:l turned into a bear sometimes, and Tewus, his brother, was "much worse." He transformed himself and danced around the fire and "went around the country scaring people." (See anecdotes about Hai'hai':č, another Bear dancer.)

Coyote dancing.---At some time during pleasure dances or entertainments, or after the ritual washing at a mourning ceremony, a character representing Coyote gave a clownish performance. E.M. did not remember the name of any man who did this, but said he must have been of the Nutuwich moiety. A coyote skin, cured with the fur on, was fastened on his back, with the head at his head, and tail at his buttocks. Paint was applied to his face and body "any way just to be funny." His antics included yowling like a coyote, jumping about, grabbing food, mimicking the spokesman, and making obscene advances toward young girls.

Beaver Dance.---E.M. had heard of a dance done "before her day" over at Owo´niu. The doctors made fish with red heads appear; these, however, could be seen only by other doctors. The shaman making this ceremony "danced half the night. When the power was coming it made them suffer."[73]

Seed-crop prophesying.---This E.M. saw Čokon:k do at a Gashowu village. It was done day or night at any time of year. The doctor danced around the public fire and told what kind of seed, clover, and acorn crops would come. There was no demonstration of seed-growing or of plants: "he just told what his power showed him." This performance was supposed to benefit the crops for the coming season.

Rain-making.---A doctor from Kings River was able to make rain, but E.M. had "just heard

[73] Cf. the woman participant who "groaned" in the Wukchumni Beaver Dance.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 173 b] Kechayi

789 about it." She did not know of B.W.'s father doing this. She thought the doctor dipped some feathers in water and prayed; the wind came first and then rain.

184 796 751 Snake ritual.--This was not performed north of Kings River: "the best doctors were always that way [south]." But in spring everyone wore an abalone charm (čuneki) while seed-gathering; this made the snakes rattle while still at a safe distance.

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 276 The ritual (tañi ʾša) of drinking jimsonweed (ta ñai) was held each spring by the Kechayi. The informant had never taken jimsonweed herself but had seen it administered at Šanwoganiu (Millerton) by an old Chukchansi man named Hoi ʾyop (lupine). After consultation with the village chief, the date for the ritual was publicly announced. The announcement had to be made at least twelve days in advance, during which time prospective participants assumed a liquid diet [seed or acorn soup]. The drinkers were twenty to thirty years of age, of both sexes. While the ritual was given in the early spring of each year, only rarely did a person participate annually. The ultimate purpose was "to have good health," but it is unfortunate that E.M. did not know of the immediate aim, which we can only presume from other information was to obtain a helping spirit -- a dream helper.

A few days before the ceremony the participants left home and were housed in the homes [292] of relatives living some distance away. They all wore "koikoi belts"[74] which they tightened up to ease the pangs of hunger.

On the morning of the ceremony the drinkers assembled outside the village, where they were joined by the leader bearing a bundle of jimsonweed plants on his back. They all ran once around the village (they did not jump over a hoop). The leader then went to the usual assembling spot for the village; as he approached he sang and talked saying that "ṭ:pni is coming." There he mashed up the plants in a large basket and poured water over them. The drinkers were arriving also, each with a woman singer following. The spokesman (yate'ːč) was present: he [554] told them to come closer to the central basket; when the drink was ready, he pointed out the order in which it was to be administered, who was to be first, next, and so on. Everyone present sat down. Then the leader filled small baskets with the decoction and gave one to each participant. He sang continuously. At his signal all drank: there was no "delayed offering" of the drink. Usually the effects were felt at once: the men and women began "dancing

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[74] A belt with koikoi beads woven into it, worn on dress occasions, as shown in fig. 13, g, Pt. I.

796 around" before falling unconscious. Some per-
276 sons needed two or three basketfuls to achieve narcosis. As each person fell he was carried into the shade. Winatums watched them to see that they did not injure themselves as they grew active. Toward morning the drinkers began
[755] to mumble, they made grabbing motions with their hands, they would not keep still. They saw sickness on people and cured it by blowing.

The effects wore off in about one week,
[262] but all participants remained on an acorn soup (limːn) diet for twelve days.

[757] Jimsonweed as an anaesthetic was not known to E.M.

Annual Mourning Ceremony

769 The chief set the date for this ceremony
[624] (luni ʾša) twelve days before it was to take place. His winatum went around to announce it, particularly to notify the reciprocal tribe (giˑʾi) which, for the Kechayi, was always the
[616] Posgisa. E.M. recalls her father supervising the ceremonies, although he was Nutuwich; the moieties combined in this affair, which was primarily tribal. The Choinimni were giˑʾi for the Gashowu (but see Choinimni account).

The ceremonial activities lasted for six days. Every morning and evening the mourners went outside the village to weep, accompanied by singers brought by the Posgisa. The mourners had with them the effigy dolls (taʾowːč anoʾša) which had been made some time previously.

The order of rituals was as elsewhere in the San Joaquin Valley: Huhuna (guksai), Shamans' Contest, crying, washing, and celebration.

The Huhuna Dancer, who performed on the third day, is called Guguʾsia by the Kechayi. Huhuna E.M. "had heard of but never saw"; she obviously did not know they were identical.

Huhuna.--This character (Gugusia) was
[237] dressed in a long feather-covered garment. A net covered his face and head, on which, over his eyes, were fastened abalone-shell discs. He carried a stick in each hand. By means of his supernatural power he found hidden money.

769 He came into the dance space, circled about. To one side a shaman was sitting. As
●789 Gugusia approached him he "shot" with "airshot" by banging a tray on the ground. His winatum carried the unconscious Gugusia to one side. Everyone wept, and the women present filed past the prostrate form throwing money and seeds over it. Then the shaman revived Gugusia.

E.M. thinks that both dancer and doctor in this performance were from the reciprocal tribe, but that the mourners paid them. She remembers one Gashowu man, Čukuʾya, a Tokelyuwich, who did this dance.

Shamans' Contest.--For some reason E.M.
769 could not or would not describe this coherently.
756 The reticence may have been due to the fact

251 222 224 which had been overlooked, to add to the stored supply.

Some years the seed and berry crop was 261 scarce. Under famine conditions, when food was actually all gone, people warmed water and 731 drank it. [J.R. did not state when or how often famines occurred; presumably very seldom. -- A.H.G.]

343 Each family had an acorn granary. These were constructed by sinking four posts about 2 feet into the earth, allowing them to extend 8 to 10 feet above. On the ground, and up to about 2 feet, was piled and packed brush or grass to form a nestlike base for the acorns. The walls were of "worm wood" (mesini) stalks of finger thickness. The butts of the stalks were embedded in the fibrous base mass and then twined with cord (s'atip) in paired horizontal bands with space between, thus forming a circular wall. As the granary was built, it was filled. This stretched the walls, which were 3 to 4 feet in diameter. Since the wall stalks were not as long as the frame posts, upper sections of the twined wall were added as needed. When the granary was full, pine [or cedar?] bark was laid on top and weighted down with a couple of heavy stones. To protect the sides from rain, strips of old bark were tied around it. Normally a granary was built in a sunny dry place, as near the owner's house as possible, as the one thing feared for acorns [789] was dampness. To prevent moulding, three buckeye balls were always laid in with the acorns. It was said by the informant N.W. that squirrels, rats, and other rodents never entered.

251 The average granary held ten to twenty sacks [native or modern?] of acorns; N.W. had 343 one once which held twenty sacks. To reach the acorns at first, three people were needed: one who climbed on top, one clinging to the sides, and one on the ground. No ladder was used; the [417] woman owner climbed up the sides by means of the woven walls. As the supply diminished, the upper wall sections were removed. The contents of such a granary might last two years.

Each family had its own granary, which was used and repaired indefinitely. If it got wet within during the winter, a new one was built, the acorns dried and restored. The damp granary would be repaired or not, after summer drying, just as the owner might wish. [N.W. did [462] not state whether men or women built granaries; perhaps men sank the frame posts, women did the twined side wall. Once built, it is evident that it was a woman's responsibility, if not personal possession. -- A.H.G.] Acorns of 251 black oak were stored without shelling, and dried in the open airy granary before bark was tied round it. White oak acorns were shelled, dried, and put away in sacks in the dwelling or storehouse to protect them from moisture. N.W. still gathers acorns (1938), and has about six sacks in her attic which she had kept three years.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 1949] Chuckchansi

Childhood

853 Newborn infants were fed acorn gruel if
846 for some reason they could not be nursed, said N.W. The mother herself took acorn gruel (warm?) for the first two weeks after the birth, as it was thought to aid the production of milk. She did not resume a full normal diet until about two months had passed. She could, however, have quail soup, which was also a special infant's preparation.

853 Quail soup might be given an infant two or three weeks or a month old, "if he would eat it," though usually it was not given until the child
[856 had reached the age of at least two months. The
825] purpose of this dish was to hasten his growth and capacities: the quail is quick, hence the child will walk early. A bird was pounded up and boiled in a soapstone dish, and the warm broth given the baby.

853 Children nursed several years. Though nursing was supplemental to the basic diet
862 after the age of three to five years, they might continue to take the breast, evidently as a natural pleasure, up to the age of ten years. Boys old enough to handle a bow and arrows, who had been out hunting, would come home and go to the mother's breast, as would girls of equal age, said N.W. From two years on, children were permitted to have any type of food they cared for and could manage. From a month on a baby would be given acorn gruel in increasing amounts. To start the child on solid food the mother would chew a piece of meat, then give it to the young one. "They look at the mother, then open their mouths, just like little birds." After the meat the child would have acorn gruel, the mother holding the basket bowl to its lips. By the age of five the child could hold its own basket when drinking from it. Sometimes children were given ground rabbit meat, but it was thought to make them lazy.

863 When children were old enough to talk, they were trained to go outside to urinate [they were in the cradle a good part of the time up to two years of age, of course]. If they did not learn readily, a medicine was prepared and rubbed on them [their genitals?]. This was evidently a powder, formed by rubbing two buckeye sticks together. Some sort of verbal formula accompanied the whole procedure [informant could not elucidate]. A child would be about five or six when this was done; "accidents" occurred as late as the age of thirteen or fourteen, said N.W.

856 When a child was too slow learning to
789 walk, the mother or someone of the family would hold a soaproot brush to the fire. When the
868 fibres blazed the child's legs were brushed with it. If the little one looked back and showed fear, it was done again. "Then he looks away. After that he keeps right on walking [sic]." N.W. does this even today [to her grandchildren?].

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one, not a spiritual representative. He could not 825 kill any animal of that breed. One actual 756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.

She did not know whether white people 787 dreamed in this way but opined that they might, especially if they "believed that way." "The Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who dreamed that way [of animals ?] when she was a little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to 778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de- 556 scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to those held by other Yokuts groups. According to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a large rock. He would talk to the rock, which would open so he could get his things. Each doctor had his own place; his things would be in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he had created by means of his power. The opening thereto was not palpable to others: "You could go over that rock a thousand times and not find the place." If an ordinary person wants to [789] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safeguard himself by rubbing his hands with wormweed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was 682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once 298 someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hanging on a clothesline. When she put on the dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure now [method ?]. If some evil woman had some of that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person with it. L.W. would have to do it or she herself would die [at the poisoner's hands ?]. Even today these people [poisoners] are feared although no poisonings have occurred "since a long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a living rain shaman, although dreaming was an essential part of success. A father usually taught one of his sons and left him his outfit when he died.

There was an old man named Soket at [787] O'Neals who made rain.[345] N.W. saw him when he was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[345] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

[P. 207 b] Chukchansi

791 animals, but "maybe about the earth, maybe the
[787] world." It told him to go far off, over to N.W.'s house. He walked at night. In the morning N.W. saw him. He behaved as though he were blind. She said, "Where are you coming from?" He said he was lost, and asked where was the Picayune Rancheria. N.W. claims that he well knew where it was but just asked because he wanted them to bring him over. When he got here [Picayune] he walked home by himself; that was when he got power to make rain.

Soket had jars of medicine; he dreamed
[764] about it and made it himself from roots, seeds, barks, etc. When he died, these jars were buried with him. (L.W. interposed that someone took them out later for his own use, she
791 thought.) Whenever it was dry in this region,
789 Soket would put some of his seeds in water, then sing, talk, and pray. The songs came from his dreams. Then it would rain a little. If more rain were wanted, more seeds would be put in. Some rain shamans threw water toward the sun, thus making a rainbow. Kroeber describes Chukchansi rain-making as done by "blowing and the dipping of fingers into water."[146]

A rain shaman made rain because he wanted to or when people who knew him well asked him to. A curing shaman would frighten a rain shaman by threatening to kill him if he did not produce rain. "When it doesn't rain, things don't grow, but dry up. When he doesn't make enough rain people scold him and scare him. He doesn't get paid. He doesn't kill people, so they don't pay him for what he does." [This is N.W.'s opinion, but that he was not paid is open to doubt in the light of general practice by Yokuts rain shamans. -- A.H.G.]

When the shaman made rain, he was alone and allowed no one to see him. He kept his outfit in a big rock. A father might give his son the materials he used: this is different from the acquisition of power by dreaming of an animal tutelary. When another person wanted to make rain, the rain shaman might give him some materials and instructions; but he rarely had more than one such apprentice. No ordinary person could touch those things or he would die.

Rattlesnake Shamans

756 Rattlesnake shamans did not practice among
752 the Chukchansi and, according to N.W., nothing was done to prevent snake bite. It could be caused by someone having a rattlesnake tutelary who would send the snake to bite a certain person. The usual treatment was to send the victim away from the village in the care of a virgin boy, if a man, or a virgin girl, if a woman. The attendant brought water and food. There is still living an old woman whose index finger was bitten by a rattlesnake. The first

[146] Handbook, 518.

756 825 times he sent the bear to harm others. Once he sent the bear to kill an old woman whom he disliked: "People knew it was his bear." The woman was out gathering acorns when the bear came, tore her to pieces, and hung her clothes and all the separate parts of her body -- head, legs, arms, entrails, heart -- in a manzanita bush. Her heart was still beating when they found it.

There is another man, alive today, who controls a bear. This is L.G. When Miss Thrall asked her informant if L.G. would tell her [522] about his bear, N.W. replied that it was unlikely, "that he might set it after you," and indulged in good-natured laughter.[151]

825 Bears were regarded with considerable awe as they are powerful and are thought to possess human intelligence. They would get hold of a person's weapons and break them up. They cry "just like people when they are hungry." They hear and understand everything people say. There was a man named Kaitana who said derogatory things about bears: soon one came and tore the flesh off his buttocks. Bears, however, never turn into people.

There were persons with supernatural power, like shamans, who could converse with bears, said J.R. The bear is regarded as almost human: "He watches you, heads you off; he can't talk but he understands you just like a man."

Sometimes bears were seen dancing. They walk on their hind feet, usually near a small tree. Then they approach the tree and maul it: "They are just doing their way." Some Indians [535] down at Friant (Gashowu, Kechayi?) used to dance like bears, said J.R.: "They saw bears dancing." [The implication is that the Chukchansi knew the Yokuts Bear Dance only through the Yokuts at Friant. -- A.H.G.]

754 789 Kroeber states that Chukchansi Bear doctors (sic) made their enemies ill by shooting little stones into them; also that a female shaman transformed into a bear at the time of her burial.[152]

Miscellaneous Powers

756 The power of playing with fire was possessed by some Chukchansi shamans, like those of the San Joaquin River region. Once, said J.R., the chief of Wehil, a village in Grub Gulch, offered a sum of money to a shaman who lived near by if he would demonstrate his powers. Many spectators came, especially from Picayune.

756 789 The spectacle was in the evening. An enormous fire was built, around which the audience sat. Then the shaman "got his clothes off" [presumably appeared in aboriginal re-

[151] This is typical Yokuts jollity. -- A.H.G.

[152] Handbook, 516, 517.

756 galia] and announced that he was going to dance
789 around the fire, then throw himself into it. This he did. He threw himself into the fire head first and emerged about a minute later. Everyone saw him enter the flames, saw him right in there. When he emerged he was not blistered and his hair was not singed, nor was he otherwise injured: "That fire never touched him." That was all. Several people contributed money which was given him next day.

Just beyond Ahwahnee (on the Crooks Ranch) there once were five or six men going along, playing, enjoying themselves. Two of them had supernatural power. Some of the fellows grew reckless in their talk and challenged the "witches" to a show of power.[153] Ahead of them on the trail was a large round rock, some ten feet high and weighing perhaps a ton. One of the men asked the empowered ones, "could they do anything with that rock, could they break it, or could they kick it?" etc.

One of the powerful men said he could kick it. He backed down the trail about forty feet for a running start while his companions stood by the rock to watch. Then he said, "All right!" He jumped and ran at top speed toward the rock and kicked it. It moved about ten feet. It is still there; no one can move it. The men then agreed that he indeed had power.

756 Whenever a shaman died, whirlwinds and
769 thunderstorms arose. Consequently shamans were
821 buried at once without delay. Anyone who grieved at a shaman's death would cry for him as for an ordinary person. Some shamans were buried in the village cemetery.

Shamans often received gifts of food, par-
756 ticularly deer meat from hunters: men feared
789 that if they did not do this the shaman would sicken them. Some, but not all, shamans hunted for themselves. They had a stone called Bokun to which they talked secretly before setting out. With this magic aid they could shoot game at once with the bow and arrow.

A woman who refused favors to a shaman might be sickened or killed by him.

Shaman-killing

683 An evil shaman normally met with retribution in the end. Some shamans were more powerful than others and hurt their inferiors. Sometimes doctors would get together to test their power and see who was the most powerful. Then, to test the victor's power, they would send him to kill someone. Often a less endowed shaman would stay away from tribal festivities for fear of being killed by his superiors. However,

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[153] I do not know how else to render J.R.'s phrase, "Some boys can say anything, playing like that." In Yokuts culture it is considered reckless or unwise for an ordinary person to challenge another's power. -- A.H.G.

756 Yokuts tribes to the south. Their professional integrity was in no way superior to that of male shamans; and evil shamans, even though women, suffered the same fate. J.R. recounted
754 the following anecdote of the punishment of a
683 witch.

There was a witch (shaman), who lived near here, who used to go down to Picayune. She got killed right near here. An Indian named J. lived down across the creek, toward Oakhurst. His wife and aunt were both sick all the time. The woman doctor lived near there. [Inferentially, she was asked to doctor the invalids.] The man's wife died. That woman never tried to cure her. It looked like she never wanted to cure her. The doctor wouldn't help her at all, and J.'s wife didn't get any better. Looked like the witch didn't want to save her. Right away, after they buried the wife, the man's aunt, who was over there sick, died too, right away. They buried her, too. That night, after they buried his aunt, the man J., who didn't want that woman doctor to live, went and kicked and beat her and killed her right there.

Shamans' Contest

756 The formalized and spectacular contest be-
789 tween shamans, which was so important an ad-junct to Yokuts mourning ceremonies, was but poorly represented in Chukchansi culture. The only contest described was seemingly not connected with the Mourning Ceremony but was merely an exciting demonstration of power.

J.R.'s father and father's two sisters had supernatural power. The aunts lived at Aplau (where Bersall lives now). At this place many Indians gathered to see the spectacle: Mono from Northfork, Chukchansi from Picayune, Gashowu (?) from Friant, and Miwok from Round House (Watsamo). From Friant came a shaman with his sister, also a shaman, wanting to demonstrate their power. The captain at Aplau was in charge, his permission was necessary. The captain said to the doctor from Friant, "You witches know how to shoot with your power, some kind you have. How far?" "Oh," said the shaman, "as far as to that building." ["That building" was J.R.'s substitution to indicate the distance, which was about 65-70 feet.]

The local shamans, J.R.'s father and aunt, already had their clothes off "to show they were witches" [were wearing ceremonial regalia, more probably. -- A.H.G.]. The father had blue-jay tail feathers arranged as ornaments. The visiting shamans were going to shoot J.R.'s father and aunt and knock them unconscious.

Two fires were built; the power came from them. The shamans held flat basket trays which they circled over the fire to draw from the fire the invisible magic "shot." First one worked over the fire, then the other. Then the first visitor shot J.R.'s father [method or motions not described]. He fell down. Then the second shaman from Friant caused J.R.'s

756 aunt to fall unconscious. No one could see how
789 the shot worked: J.R. saw this performance himself. Then the two visitors extracted the missiles by some unknown means, and the fallen victims "stood right up."

This was not a true contest since the local shamans did not take offensive shots at their opponents. Of course, they may have attempted to defend themselves in some way by means of their own supernatural powers. After the demonstration "everybody sat around and had fun" [played games, presumably. -- A.H.G.].

Jimsonweed

276 According to J.R., the best jimsonweed
756 (t'anai) grew down on the Fresno River at Grub Gulch. The shamans who made use of it would go there to get it. They took only the main root, no side roots; this they dried for future use. Such men had dreamed previously of jimsonweed, of how to handle it.

When a shaman wanted to take the drug, he would pound up the root and mix some of the powder with warm water. Only a very small mouthful was drunk: "That will keep you down
276 on the ground, talking to yourself, maybe a
756 couple of days." "It makes you dream, just like marijuana. You see things other people
787 can't see. When a doctor wants to see something away off, or something they don't know about around here, they can do this with this plant. Only doctors would do it, to see how good they are" [how much power they had].

J.R. knew of shamans at Friant [Gashowu, Kechayi territory] who were expert at this. They sang before they drank. There were perhaps two such men. They drank jimsonweed from a little basket; they sang, "I am going to drink you, t'anai." Soon they appeared to be drunk and fell down. But while they slept, they saw with their hearts [souls] things which no one else could see.

At Ahwahnee, in Miwok territory, J.R. saw a shaman take jimsonweed. He came from Wawona. He did not want to lie down while under the

W Y 787 "I just said, 'As long as I live I will see you, Rock. I see you all the time.'"[185]

778 To accept a dream of this type, i.e., getting down safely off a height, would give the dreamer power to do this in real life. S.O. explained his rejection of this by his blindness which did not permit him "to go around any places like that."

W Y 756 778 787 5. It was not considered wise or in good taste to boast of one's supernatural power, but particularly was it a matter of caution not to let a shaman suspect one of having a competitive amount of tapni. "People never told what they dreamed or what their talisman was except to their most trusted friends." If one person said to another, "You have lots of power," the person addressed replied in kind, "It is you who have lots of power," as the perception of power in another was thought to indicate the possession of power by the perceiver. Since shamans, of course, had this power (of perception) it was thought to be difficult to keep them from knowing about one's private abilities. Apropos of this, S.O. told the following dream experience and its aftermath.

Once he dreamed that he was over at Watoki Dam and saw a bright green rattlesnake swimming towards him across the water. As it was the fall of the year (hibernation period), he was greatly puzzled, especially by its verdant aspect. He told no one.

The very next day Senai'ja, a shaman, came. He knew beforehand that S.O. had seen the snake, and the following conversation ensued.

Shaman: What did you see last night ?
S.O. (being wary): Yes, I saw something.
Shaman: You saw something close to you last night ?
S.O.: Yes, I saw a rattlesnake.
Shaman: That's just what I mean.

Bystanders wondered what this conversation was about but recognized that the shaman had some supernatural apperception. Then Senaija told S.O. that the reason he saw the snake was "because he had been following the old ways" (i.e., dreaming, praying, sun-basking, etc). He said he (Senaija) knew all about it. S.O. "just laughed but he was mad inside." He was chagrined because he was following the old ways and did not wish it to be known.

(That the shaman's perspicacity was verbal pretense did not appear to S.O. If so intelligent a person as S.O. was blind to the verbal trickery involved, the delusions perpetrated by "mean" shamans on dull people must have been facile indeed.)

Flying Power

W Y 791 789 A special type of power, that of jumping or "flying" through space for a considerable

[185] Another standardized phrase for addressing anything supernatural: ama'mao pa''anao na mum ia''ilm (whole, or round-of-the-year, every place I you see).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 243 b] Western Mono NS25-

distance, was called mai''iw:n by both Michahai and Western Mono. The concept seems to center in the upland area of Chukaimina, Michahai, Waksachi, and Wobonuch. It was used especially as a protective device, as it gave the owner a means of invisible escape. It was also used to move other objects, like the corpse in the anecdote of the malicious shaman.[186] The source (supernatural sponsor or dream helper) of this power could not be specified by S.O. But he gave two anecdotes concerning it.

1. A shaman [Etak ?] was assaulted early one morning. A lot of people went over to his house. He was expecting this. He asked the people to sit down. They surrounded him. He seized his talismans, jumped on a man in passing, and said "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off into the air. He was invisible. But, unfortunately for him, "he landed in a bunch of people." As soon as he struck the ground, he became visible. They shot him to death at once.

2. A Wobonuch, whose name S.O. could not recall, went out hunting. He saw a cinnamon bear which started to run him down. This man had many talismans. Just as the bear was upon him he called out, "hwi'i'i'i'!" and flew off. This he repeated several times until he neared a tall tree. He flew up into it and remained there until the bear lost patience and went off.

Miscellaneous Data

The lineage totem animal (poša) might serve as a supernatural helper (ain:č) in the same manner as any dissociated or random animal which appeared in a dream experience. In this way did Bear Dancers or Snake Doctors dream of their family creature. Such an experience was that of Hai'puš (Samson Dick, the Wobonuch singer) who had Fox (a'oča) as his poša. Incidentally, this was the only instance of a Fox lineage known to S.O.

Haipuš had a daughter who ran off with a white man. Her father and old Wilolohi went after her; they separated and Haipuš went down a gulch where he saw people encamped. Two Wobonuch girls were there; he saw his girl and talked to her. She said she was satisfied and wanted to stay. Then the white men came up and threatened Haipuš with a gun, so the old man ran off. The men came right after him. In despair Haipuš called on Fox for aid. Instantly a fox appeared and, running a zigzag path between Haipuš and his pursuers, attracted the latters' attention. While the men were trying to shoot the fox, Haipuš escaped. And so, S.O. said, did the fox.

S.O. said, "All doctors talk about Coyote."

One day he and some companions were walking from Squaw Valley to Antelope Valley. He

[186] Cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 393.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
EP. 245 a [illegible] Mono NS25

W Y 753 The symptoms resulting from intrusions and poisoning are impossible to distinguish, although S.O. tried to categorize them. Intrusion caused delirium, "made the patient grab around." The intruding object, which might be "anything," but usually proved to be such things as fingernails, the hair of a dead person, sand, or insects, was thought to enter into the blood and lodge between the eyebrows. W Y [755] Intrusive objects were always projected by a shaman. If not removed, they proved fatal. The technique for removal was cutting and sucking. The irritant was always exhibited by the doctor (or by his winatum) and destroyed by fire or burial. The cure was immediately effective.

Poisoning was a vague cause to which many kinds of sicknesses were attributed, particularly those accompanied by severe pain, perhaps W Y in the joints, which could scarcely be caused by an actual intestinal poison. It seems to be [789] based on a concept of contagious magic. Thus persons fell ill from touching "poisoned" objects such as baskets, articles of clothing, etc. The cure for this was the blowing and rubbing technique. [Yet we saw above S.O. used this technique for curing an objective sickness, the swallowing of injurious seeds by a baby.] Poisoning was thought far more dangerous than intrusion, and most deaths were attributed to it.

W Y 754 S.O. said that "a person receiving a severe fright would know that a doctor was going to sicken him." In such cases the fright was believed to be as much a contributing cause of death as the subsequent poison. Thus a malevolent shaman would send a coyote to scare a man who, seeing a coyote under peculiar circumstances, would realize at once he was someone's victim. His fear would bring on a self-induced illness. Another favorite method of shamans was to send an owl to hoot outside a specified house: on hearing it the inmates felt a foreboding. S.O. knew of one incident when a dove fell dead amongst a group of people, and the person nearest it thought he was doomed: no ordinary dove would so behave. Such creatures would also come as doctor's messengers to foretell death in dreams.

The malicious activities of shamans were well known to S.O. and attested by several anecdotes, which have already been published.[188]

Rain-making

W Y 789 791 There were no persons among the Michahai or Waksachi who had power to control the weather. Like informants from other central and northern Yokuts-Mono tribes, B.O. and S.O. said that all weather shamans were "southerners." Two rain-makers, Su'mak and Taku'mum, visited the Michahai village of Tušao and displayed their powers.

[188] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 391, 393, 394.

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Sum:k was recalled by D., who gave the following account.

There were no rain-makers except in the south around Kernville and Tejon. A rain-maker was called hoto'o ti ŝaŝ (rain to-make) and got his power by dreaming, D. thought, about Thunder.

There was one man named sum:k who traveled along the foothills as far north as Tušao [perhaps farther] to make money. When he came, he told the chief what he was going to do and, when permission was given, he sat down on a tule mat before the chief's house. The winatum announced what was to be done, and the men of the village approached and paid him for the coming display. With him he had a large white stone and some ka'wa seeds: these were his talismans (ain:č). He scattered the seeds over the ground and then retired to a house where he remained quiet or slept all day. Toward evening he came out and harangued the people, telling them not to let their children play with hail (howo'to),[189] not to make fires with wood that had been struck by lightning or talk about Thunder, for the lack of rain was due to Thunder's anger. During his talk the white stone was kept beside him under a rabbitskin blanket. By-and-by it rained.

D. said she could not remember further details, as "she was just a little girl." She added that "when Sum:k died someone found his white stone and threw it away so no one could make rain any more."

Even S.O. barely recalled Sum:k and his companion and professional rival Takumum, who already were old men in his childhood. He said Sum:k threw fine gravel [seeds ?] up into the air with a scattering gesture, at the same time "talking to the up above." Soon it grew cloudy and began to rain; a high wind came too. As a spectacle these two rain-makers would work against each other, one making the rain cease as soon as the other started it. "They made money by going around where people wanted the weather changed or maybe just wanted to see it done."

CEREMONIES

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Jimsonweed Ritual

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Jimsonweed (ta'ñai) was drunk ritually by men and women at both Tušao and Čitatu. The affair at Tušao, as described by S.O., was the more orthodox and Yokuts-like; that at Čitatu was described by B.O.

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At Tušao the drink was taken in March by participants about eighteen to twenty years of age. To take it was not compulsory although S.O. felt that a doctor of real ability should

[189] Hail is called "Thunder's bullets or shells" (sic) in English. Children often ate, played, and particularly had fights with coarse hail when it fell.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[EP 248 a] Western Mono NS25

W Y 796 825 751 756 [541]

with a basket to collect the pay. A chief, through his winatum, ordered that the doctors be bitten. A doctor would throw his snake on the ground, then pick it up by the tail. When it turned and struck, he released the tail so the creature hung by its fangs. A doctor who did this would be sick for two or three days; he would be cured by another snake doctor. "There was no purpose to this dance except to make money."

Various Dances

W Y 796 541

Bear Dance.---According to B.O. the Waksachi had no Bear dancers: the one man who transformed himself into a bear did not dance. This is curious and somewhat dubious since the Wobonuch Western Mono, as well as surrounding Yokuts, had such performers in their Bear lineages. B.O. said that he saw a Bear Dance (noho'o kam) at Tuĕno given by two men and one woman "who had come from somewhere. They were some relation to Bear." This was in the fall.

S.O. stated that relatively few people had Bear as a family totemic animal; this possibly explains the Waksachi situation. At Squaw Valley there was a Chukaimina named Ko'o who danced, but the Wobonuch dancer, Supa'na, most impressed S.O. One or two daughters of these men usually danced with them. S.O. gave the following description.

The Bear Dance was made in September before the acorns were ripe. The men wore belts of blue-jay feathers [sewed together through the quills] and bear-claw necklaces, but no bear hide. [The girl's costume was not described.] The two accompanying singers used cocoon rattles. The dance step was, for the men, three jumps forward, a move backward toward their previous position: this was repeated three times. Meanwhile the girl stood at one end behind them, remaining in her place and holding up her hands with elbows close to her sides, and swayed her torso slightly from side to side. No matter how greatly the performance was admired, it could only be repeated once; i.e., there might be two complete performances, one original and one encore, as it were. Spectators paid the singers, who collected for the dancers and shared in the collection. The dance was given in the morning and a feast with new acorns followed.

W Y [789]

S.O. could not say who provided this.

Skill as a Bear dancer was not related in any way, S.O. thought, to the ability to transform oneself into a bear, of which he seemed to know little. He had heard in all his life of just three men who could do this, a Tachi, a "southerner," and a Wobonuch, but he did not know the men personally or by name, nor did he know how the transformation was accomplished.

Beaver Dance or fish display.---This S.O. had heard of but could not describe. He claimed the performance was given by only two

W Y 796 541 men, who were Wukchumni shamans, Tapu´ša and Ili´pča. (Ili´pča was Joe Pohot's maternal grandfather's brother, possibly one of the performers at the display Mary Pohot witnessed as a little girl.)

Huhuna Dance.---The following description was given by S.O. and has been previously published.[193] While the Huhuna Dance was part of the mourning ritual series it might be performed out of its ceremonial context at any time.

The Waksachi did not have a Huhuna dancer among their own people. There was one from the Wukchumni and one from the Tule River Reservation who came up to Waksachi villages with their chiefs. They came to the Michahai too. Their names are not remembered. They came to ceremonies at Tušao. There they made money for the local chief, Pao'ič, but they were paid for doing this.

The Huhuna could hear money that was hidden, this was his special ability. Before the performance began, the chief sponsoring the affair had money hidden, possibly in the ground, under bushes, or in the rafters of the shades around the dance space. The chief himself supplied the money, though others might add to the sum if they wished. Huhuna was then brought in. Sometimes he wore a mask which covered his eyes. He danced around. As soon as he "heard" the hidden money he pointed toward it with a stick he carried. He had his own winatum, who thereupon dug up the money and put it in a basket. If the Huhuna had not brought a winatum with him, the local chief would assign one to assist him. After the money had all been discovered, a shaman came on the scene. The winatum of the chief made a little fire at which the shaman manufactured invisible airshot (toiyuš). Huhuna was told where to sit down when "shot," and a blanket was laid out for money which would be paid the shaman. When the shaman was ready, he danced about and then cast the shot at Huhuna, who fell over unconscious. His winatum carried him off to one side, whereupon all the spectators present threw down money beside him. This money, however, went to the chief sponsoring the rite, and from it the chief paid the shaman for his part in the performance. After he received his payment, the shaman proceeded to revive Huhuna by sucking the shot from him. If a chief had come with Huhuna, he too received presents of money or acorn meal for the spectators.

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B.O. said that the Huhuna Dance was never performed by the Waksachi, but that he had seen it "three or four times in Wukchumni places [villages)."

W Y 535 Pleasure Dance.---This dance (hi´šinä´nič) was done in the evening at any time of year, though it would not be done for more than one night in several weeks, i.e., it would not be made two or more nights in succession. There

[193] Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, 375.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and (inferentially) no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.---Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.---Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

W Y [831]

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a´ntahum ile´h:č (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

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pebbles," but the killing shot (toi´uš) was invisible. The shot was made at the fire, which in some manner drew power from the sun. The shamans sprinkled eagle or falcon down on the fire and something called ai´'ap, which "looked like salt." They made seizing motions over the fire with their hands and slapped them on their basketry trays where the pebblelike shot appeared. While doing all this, they addressed the sun prayerfully.

Any shaman who thought he had sufficient supernatural strength was free to enter. They chose their own side of battle; no chief told them. (However, with shamans' cliques and chiefly sponsorship of shamans there was undoubtedly prearrangement, at least among the shamans, in some contests.)

When the contest was to start, the opposing shamans stood opposite each other some thirty feet apart. Each had an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth which he blew constantly and he held his tray loaded with airshot in his hands. At a shout from a winatum the shamans slapped their trays on the ground to propel the shot at their opponents. They might do this two or three times before a hit was made. When a victim fell unconscious, he was carried aside by winatums. As usual, the surviving shaman had to go around extracting shots from the fallen. If these were let remain, "a sickness would grow from them" even if the doctor regained normal consciousness. The method of recovery, as described by S.O., was rubbing the victim with hands cupped, not by sucking. If a shaman seemed to have lingering ill effects after the contest, his chief sent his winatum to summon the shaman believed responsible: the shaman had to remove the cause and was not paid for this second effort.[195]

Annual Mourning Ceremony

Villages the size of Čitatu or Tušao would have a large mourning ceremony (unarano´gan, Waksachi) about every two years. Normally there were not a sufficient number of deaths to warrant one every year; that is, the expenses were too great for just one family, say, to support. Money, baskets, and other gifts of value, and great quantities of food stuffs had to be accumulated in advance. The lending of money for interest in this connection was known to both Waksachi and Michahai and called by the Yokuts term, lak:na´n:č, but it is doubtful that the custom was practiced here; certainly it was not established.[196]

[195] In spite of this obligation the Shamans' Contest was a vehicle for intrigue if conniving chiefs and shamans cared to make it so (cf. Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans).

[196] That is, money-lending, which was a normal part of everyday life, was not integrated with the mourning ceremony.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

son" into their opponents, and strike at each other with winnowing baskets. Often, when struck, they are able to extract the magic missile, but sometimes fail, whereupon the victors shout "*Wuuwuwuwu!*" and receive pay for withdrawing their paralyzing power. On the first evening the performance is brief, a sort of warming up. The next night the shamans go at each other in earnest, and contend until morning. Although no public benefit whatever results, this rite appears to be rated more highly than the rattlesnake ceremony, on the ground that a greater number of medicine men participate. Shamans of special powers as opposed to bewitching and curative abilities do not enter the *heshwash:* rain, bear, and snake "doctors" stay out.

This contest of supernatural abilities has northern parallels; as among the Yuki in their *hulk'ilal* ceremonies. But the setting, meaning, and organization of the performances are different. In the one case there is a secret society of initiated impersonators; in the other an assembly of shamans with personally acquired powers. A nearer parallel is found among the Maidu shamans' competitions.

The *Ohowish* or "wishing" ceremony is also a pure demonstration of supernatural power. Sleight of hand is the central feature, as suggestion is in the *heshwash*. Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the *ohowish* medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such displays appear to be the kernel of the ceremony, which ends toward morning by the performing shamans "fighting" one another magically.

The medicine bags here referred to savor of Plains Indian ideas more than of native Californian practices; although there is Pomo parallel.

The *Heshwash* and *Ohowish* extend from the southernmost tribes at least to the Tachi and Gashown; the habits of the Chukchansi are not known.

The *Ha'ishat* is a nonshamanistic dance, whose relation to other ceremonies, or purpose other than pleasure, has not become clear. A place and time, perhaps 12 days ahead, are appointed. The invitees then busy themselves securing quantities of food, laden with which they start out, and make camp for the night a mile or more away from the designated spot. In the morning the entire tribe, men, women, and children, every one carrying his pack of provisions, dance in a long single file, to the usual Yokuts "piston-rod step," all the way in to the meeting place. This must have been a most pic-

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

WEATHER SHAMANS.

756 The weather doctor chiefly brought on rain, perhaps when it was needed, more often, it appears, like Samuel before the people, to prove his power. Again the national inclination toward public recognition of shamanistic displays is manifest. The famous Hopodno at Tejon, who was half Yauelmani and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu, staked the rain in a game, and when he lost promptly delivered it to the winners.

The Chukchansi mention only blowing and the dipping of fingers into water as means of making rain; but the Tachi and southern tribes describe cylindrical stones, 6 to 8 inches long, pointed at one end, as the necessary apparatus. Moistened or dipped a little into water, the amulet produced a shower; but if the doctor was angered, he plunged the whole stone in and a violent storm followed. These objects, which suggest the well-known "charm stones" of the California archaeologist, but were probably a distinct though similar type, were inherited from father to son; and the Tachi go so far as to say that the theft of his amulet would deprive the owner of his power. Spirits are nowhere mentioned directly in connection with the rain-making faculty.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

that a shout could be heard across it, two warriors famous for dodging stepped forward from each tribe, and each shot one flint-tipped deer arrow from fully bent bow at his companion. Then these men, and they only, shot the crazed antelopes as they circled about within the human inclosure, or sometimes ran until they dropped from fear and exhaustion. Certain of the antelopes with peculiar horns were believed to sing as they ran, with ground owls sitting on their heads. These individuals were spared. The mimic warfare no doubt had magic intent; but the delegation of the shooting to select men served to keep the circle intact, which would certainly have broken under the excitement of every man aiming his arrow at his own quarry.

A safe though far from certain way of hunting bears was to shoot them on moonlight nights from a sort of nest constructed in a tree in their acorn feeding grounds.

When the geese traveled, inflammable brush was piled up, and when the birds were heard approaching on dark, still nights these were suddenly lit. The birds swooped down to the flare, and in their bewilderment were easily killed.

Pigeons were snared in the earliest morning from a comfortable brush booth with a grass window looking out on a leveled platform on which a live decoy was staked and bait scattered. The running noose was on a stick that was slowly shoved through the curtain until a bird stepped within. The victim was smothered with the knee, and the flock soon returned to feed. (Pl. 46.) The decoy was carried in a spindle-shaped cage.

The Yaudanchi capture of eagles was modeled on the principle of their pigeon taking. The hunter lay in a concealed hut of brush. He did not look at his quarry until it was caught, fearing that it flee his glance. Outside were placed a stuffed animal skin as bait and a live hawk as decoy. The trap was a noose fastened to a bent-over pole sprung from a trigger. Before the eagle was killed by being trod on, it was addressed: "Do not think I shall harm you. You will have a new body. Now turn your head to the north and lie flat!" Only men who knew this prayer and the necessary observances undertook to kill eagles.

Of the many ways of capturing fish, a few more unusual ways may be mentioned. Completely darkened booths were built, in which a man lay to spear the fish passing beneath. This device suggests the pigeon snaring and eagle taking arbor. Small fish could sometimes be taken with the scoop-shaped openwork baskets of the women. Poisons were two: ground buckeye nuts with earth stamped into them and crushed *nademe* leaves. Soon after these preparations were thrown into a small stream the fish began to float on the

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

three or four days they didn't catch any fish. Then they come back to camp and get that Indian Doctor. They take him along. He got nice, long, *kots* [obsidian] points like you got here. Sometimes, too, he got good rock like your white boy's spin-top [plummet, or plumb-bob shaped stones].

"That Indian Doctor, he make fire of some good kind of weeds. He talk, and talk, and say his good prayers over that fire. All the time he hold his good kots point like big spear point over that fire. Pretty soon that Indian Doctor begin singin'.

"He get up and dance little bit on that tule boat. He hold that kots point in one hand. When he finish dancin' and singin' all his good songs, then that kots point is *tripne* (trip'-ne) [has supernatural power]. Then that Indian Doctor throw that tripne kots point in the lake. Then them Indians catch lots of fish. But they got to pay that Indian Doctor lots of good Indian money, maybe beads. They got three-four kinds beads they use like money."

And that, in my opinion, is the entire secret of the thousands of fine, large spear points found on the dry bed of the old valley lakes.

THE RABBIT DRIVE

San Joaquin Valley pioneers who attended the rabbit drives held by white people during the early eighties will perhaps be surprised to learn that this method of taking rabbits was practiced by the Indians on the same grounds many generations before the white man came.

The number of jack rabbits which a barren, desert country will support is unbelievable to the person who has not seen them. During the Fall of 1929, within ten miles of the city of Tulare, in the area of less than ten acres, the writer saw a swarm of rabbits which undoubtedly numbered not less than 1500. These rabbits had taken refuge in a field which was covered with tumble weeds. As the car passed along two sides of the field the rabbits swarmed across the road in bands of fifty and one hundred. In places they were almost as thick as driven sheep. This is largely the condition in many portions of the San Joaquin when it was occupied by Indians. In those areas the rabbits were commonly taken by driving.

The elaborate preparation made by the white people was of course unknown to the Yokuts, although we are assured that

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

789 791 Few San Joaquin Valley grain farmers, who have paid white rainmakers to produce rain for their withering crops, know that rainmaking was a well established profession long before grain crops were planted in the San Joaquin. But such was the case, for there are numerous data recording that the business of rainmaking had become a profession among the Yokuts tribes. These data extend from one end of the San Joaquin Valley to the other, and also into the northern portion of Santa Clara County around the present towns of Mayfield and Mountain View, which is generally held to be a part of primeval Yokuts territory. This work has been carried on down to date. Not many years ago, a prominent *Tachi* Yokuts rain doctor passed away at Santa Rosa Rancheria, south of Lemoore. His Tachi name was *Si'-nel,* but he was known to surrounding white settlers as Indian Bob, the Rain Dancer. [764] While this manuscript was being completed, Clarence Atwell, the last of these Yokuts doctors, died at the same rancheria, his dance costume being buried with him.

Because of the continued scarcity of water in the territory that was once Yokuts and the great efforts being made to provide more of it, the Rainmaking Ceremony is of more interest to present San Joaquin Valley residents than anything else concerning the Yokuts.

[292 302] Dressed in his feather skirt and headdress, his body painted dead black and striped with bright white, the Yokuts rainmaker surely was a weird figure. He danced in the night about a fire and sang his magic song. In this he was aided by *Ahanich,* paid singers, and was assisted by other rain-desiring tribesmen.

789 648 To the surrounding white settlers of the 1860's, whose drying crops needed rain more than did the Tachi, the Rain Doctor appeared only as a dangerous Indian Chief, inciting his people to attack the whites. From John Ezra, of Kings River Island, near Laton, I learned that it was because of this fear on the part of the whites that the Tachi for a long time gave up their rain dances.

789 778 Connected with the rain making ceremony was a magic stone, which, when properly invoked by song and dance, could produce anything from a sprinkle to a cloudburst. It could bring luck in fishing and could bring water into dry stream-channels. A photograph, reproduced in this volume, shows

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

these magic stones to vary much in size and proportions, but to be all of the same general shape. They are often referred to as plummets, or plumb-bobs, and are commonly known to collectors as charm-stones.

Charm-stones have been found throughout Yokuts territory. Along streams and about the shores of valley lakes they have been discovered in great numbers. Away from the old bodies of water they have occasionally been brought to the surface by plowing. When the waters of Tulare Lake began to recede during the late 1880's and early 1890's these stones were found by hundreds along the lower shores. Dr. Ed. Smith of Hanford made a large collection of them along those shorelines and in the lowest portion of the dry lake bed. He once told me that during one week-end, traveling with horse and buggy, he gathered one hundred and eighty-four Yokuts Rainmakers' charm stones.

Pioneer San Joaquin Valley residents have furnished numerous parallel data, stating that these stones were used to bring fish up the streams and to bring success in fishing. A few have stated that they were also used in connection with a rainmaking ceremony. Zachary T. Blankenship, of Visalia, once told me that they were used to bring water into streams during drought, and to induce the large trout of Tulare Lake to migrate up the various branches of the lower Kaweah River. Said "Zac", "Soon after it left the Sierra foothills the Kaweah River divided into six branches—Outside Creek, Deep Creek, Cameron Creek, Packwood Creek, Mill Creek and St. John's River, which, in its lower course, is known as Cross Creek. Sometimes the heads of some of these creeks would choke with sand and brush so that the water could not run down them. Then the Indian Medicine Men had to get busy with their plumb-bobs and put on a song and dance calculated to bring the water back.

"Each year the large lake trout would run up some of the Kaweah Creeks, but they did not always run up all of them. This cut some of the Indian camps out of their fishing. They hung those plumb-bobs on the willow trees in order to make the fish come up to them. I never saw this done, but I know it to be true, for I was told about it by an old Indian who lived on Outside Creek. I found one of those plumb-bob stones hanging on a tree. It took my fancy. There was no one in sight, so I cut it loose, put it in my pocket and took it home. We had sev-

[text continues on p. 204]

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Hanford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs*. He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk*. He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

Toke'-un lih'-nuh	*Wa-tin-hin*	*nah*	*Yo'*
(west side)	(straight path)	(me)	(to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne	*Ah-he*	*oo-nook*	*mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village)	(this is I)	(charm stone)	(over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

never sang my song for them. They were only *Ahnitu*. They wanted to be Tripne.

"An old *Nutunutu* (Noo-too'-noo-too) Rain Doctor at Kingston knew my song right. I heard him sing lots of times. His name was *Ne'-mah-pah*. He died long time ago."

But after all of the above data had been gathered, there was still much mystery attached to the plummet shaped Yokuts charms. At two points in Tulare County, and one in Merced County "nests" of these charms had been uncovered during the process of leveling land. One of these was near an old, disused channel of Cameron Creek, at the Harris mound, one-half mile north of Paige, west of Tulare. Another was on an old, disused course or slough of Cross Creek, still further west of Tulare. The third was on a blind branch of Santa Rita slough, due east of Los Baños. The general details of all three finds were much the same. The stones had been found buried in a small circle. The charms from the Harris mound, I obtained from Mr. Harris, also his first hand account of their discovery.

While this manuscript was being prepared for the printer I received word that a fourth nest of nine charm-stones had been uncovered about fifteen miles west of Bakersfield near the center of Section 15, T29S, R25E. I was able to secure these stones and to hear from the discoverer what position they had occupied in the ground. A mound was being leveled. At first it was thought to be a sand dune, as, in common with several others nearby, it appeared to be composed of fine wind-blown silt.

This mound was beside an old channel of Kern River, which was filled to a depth of three feet with fine silt. This channel can be traced for several miles in the direction of Bakersfield. and in the opposite direction, toward Goose Lake. It has carried no water within historic times. The silt from the mound was scraped into the old channel and the whole area prepared for planting cotton.

No artifacts of any kind were found; in fact, nothing but clean silt was encountered, until a depth of about six feet had been reached. At that depth an old camp site was uncovered. Charcoal, ashes, and soot-covered, heat-shattered rocks were scooped up by the carryalls, which were drawn by Caterpillar tractors. A number of fine, thin-walled, steatite cooking vessels were broken up by the equipment. A metate and mano and several mortars and pestles were uncovered.

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key to the nest burials of charm-stones. This appeared in a pamphlet titled, *Contributions to Local History*, and gives the history of the territory surrounding Mountain View, in northern Santa Clara County. Here is her account:

"The most interesting specimens of rude aboriginal art are charm or sorcery stones. Ray Dexter has one with the polish worn off that he found in the slough, and Frank Francis has another and highly polished one of a fine-grained, hard stone that was found on the Rev. Mr. Crittenden's ranch. Many charm stones are reported from Mr. Summer's ranch. These stones are of various shapes and sizes. The purpose for which they were used, at what time, it seems not easy to make out. But our comparatively recent Indians finding these stones attributed to them magical powers.

"No less than six theories have been advanced with regard to their use. They have been found in too many forms for games; too heavy for personal adornment; as plummets they would have been of no use to a people who lived in huts, or no shelter whatever; sinkers they need not be, when many stones in the creek would answer fully as well; the small knob on the end of nearly all of them caused them to be of less service than the common pestle; and the investigators came to the conclusion they were used for religious purposes, and in this way they found they were correct, as a few old Indians confirmed this idea.

"The Indian medicine man used to collect twelve or maybe twenty charm stones and arrange them in the form of a circle, with another very different stone in the center, and over these he sprinkled the seed of the wild sage, feathers and red ochre, when war, sickness, drought or famine came to the tribe. He would next thrust the stones violently together, all the time muttering his incantations - - - - - .

"These charm stones were also suspended by a string over the water where they were fishing, hung from trees to call the fish up the streams, and at points in the mountains favorable for hunting."

It would almost seem that Mary J. Gates had actually interviewed Mr. Zachary T. Blankenship, quoted above. And does her article not explain why our San Joaquin Valley charm-stones were buried in nests? Were not all ten burials described above located on streams that had changed their channels? Can

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the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago?

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun.

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them.

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the *Tulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon.

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

liberally of their substance. But he was yet an unknown prophet. They were incredulous, and mostly laughed him to scorn, whereupon he would leave the village in high dudgeon, denouncing war upon their heads, and threatening them with a continuance of the drought another year far worse than before. Sure enough, the enraged Hopodno brought drought a second year, and the Indians were smitten with remorse and terror, believing him endowed with superhuman power; and when next year he made a second pilgrimage, offerings were showered upon him in abundance, and men heard him with trembling. He compelled them to pay him fifty cents apiece, American money, and many gladly gave much more. And he made rain.

As to their implements and weapons, there are some interesting particulars to be noted. Here, as everywhere on the Sacramento and Joaquin plains, the Indians make no bows, but purchase them all from the mountaineers. This is because they have no cedar. This wood is extremely brittle when dry, and is then the poorest possible material for bows; but by anointing it every day with deer's marrow while it is drying the Indian overcomes this quality and renders it the best. The bow is taken from the white or sap wood, the outside of the tree being also the outside of the bow. It is scraped and polished down with wonderful painstaking, so that it may bend evenly, and the ends are generally carved so as to point back slightly. Then the Indian takes a quantity of deer's sinew, splits it up with flint into small fibers, and glues them on the outside or flat back of the weapon until it becomes semi-cylindrical in shape. These strings of sinew, being lapped around the end of the bow and doubled back a little way, impart to it its wonderful strength and elasticity. The glue is made by boiling the joints of various animals and combining the product with pitch.

I saw a bow thus carefully made in the hands of an aged chief, and it was truly a magnificent weapon. It was about five feet long, smooth and shining—for when it becomes a little soiled the fastidious savage scrapes it slightly with flint, then anoints it afresh with marrow—and of such great strength that it would require a giant to bend it in battle. For lack of skins the owner carried it in a calico case. The string, composed of twisted sinew, was probably equal in strength to a sea-grass rope of three times its diameter.

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NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier. The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans and had taught this art to the young man.

José said that the young man first got a container full of water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

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He then began to "act crazy." He rolled across the ground, picked up ashes and dirt and threw them into the air, and made certain use of a cord of eagle-down. He gesticulated, talked, and prayed. Soon a wisp of cloud began to blow across the sky and shortly thereafter lightning flashed and a rumbling came from the earth. People had brought watermelons to the fiesta, and when the hail began to fall it drummed loudly against them, making a sound that José had never forgotten. All of the Indians looking on became frightened, particularly the old man tied to the post and exposed to the storm. Everything became wet. All of the people were so concerned that the head-man went up to the young weather shaman and asked him to stop the rain, saying that he would be well paid if he did so. The young man heeded the request and received a considerable sum of money. In the meantime the old man who had been the cause of the display of power by the weather shaman was cut loose from the post by some of his friends and he fled for his life.

José was not just too sure how the young man caused the rain to stop, but he thought that the rain was dissipated when the shaman spit something on a hot rock, possibly tobacco. The rising vapors were supposed to have caused the clouds to vanish and bring the rain to an end.

After telling about the successful display of power by the weather shaman, José proceeded to tell something about the activities of the young man's grandfather who used to travel among the various Yokuts groups to bring rain for them. The Yokuts, José said, used to burn off the old cover of grass and weeds, and with the rain supplied by the weather shaman they would be assured of a good crop of grasses and other beneficial plants from which they harvested seeds or obtained other products. When the grandfather came among the Yokuts people, he was supposed not to have brought along his rain shaman's outfit, but just sang, danced, and talked. For these services he rendered the old man was well paid in shell money.

José did not know who the old man was, but he did say that he lived for some time at Fort Tejón, and later with his son at Kernville where the latter lived with his wife, a Koyeti Yokuts woman. It was the son of this couple who produced hail and rain at the fiesta attended by José. It is possible that this old man was Hopodno of 1870 fame (Powers, 1877, pp. 372-373; Kroeber, 1924, pp. 511-512). José said that the old man had had contact with the coast people, the Tokya (Chumash), and that he could speak their language and may have

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791 come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

791 The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort
578 Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian
648 Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain
789 one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the
578 Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

791 A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the
789 weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things
578 the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were
778 charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-
789 209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string
791 entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

796 José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another
825 time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-

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796 825 osity he ignored her caution and joined the other small boys following one of the doctors. The doctor went to Rocky Hill near Porterville where rattlesnakes live among the rocks. When they approached the spot where the snakes were, the doctor told the boys to stay back and not frighten the snakes. In order not to miss seeing the capture of the snakes, José climbed up on a boulder. Here he saw that the doctor was equipped

[285] [415] [53]

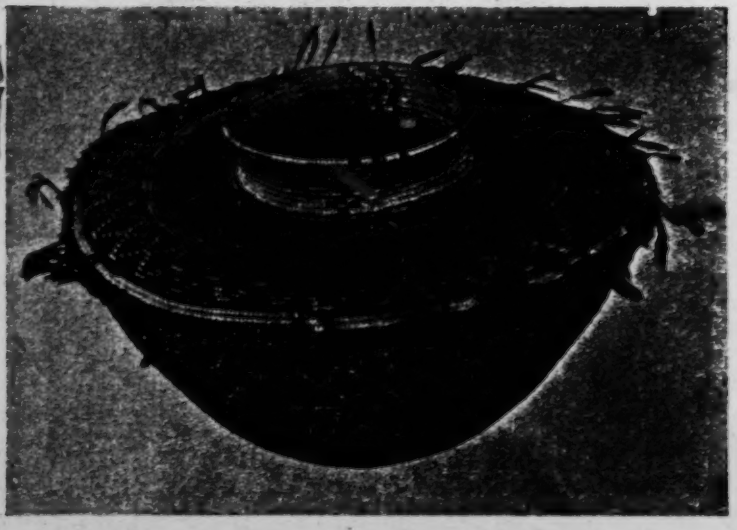

FIG. 5—Rattlesnake Basket of the Yokuts Indians.

with a small whistle, a bottle-shape (shouldered) basket, (Fig. 5) and an eagle-down string. The doctor began blowing on the whistle until some rattlesnakes began to crawl out toward him.

The little boy on the rock became transfixed with fear and curiosity as the snakes approached the shaman as if they were hypnotized. The doctor threw the string of eagle-down behind (?) the snakes to keep them from escaping (?), and then bent down and picked them up and put them into the necked basket. [789]

During the rattlesnake ceremony, José reported, a pit was dug into which the rattlesnakes were placed and some sort of cover (brush ?) was put over the pit. All of the people in attendance would then go past the pit and place one foot over the pit of snakes, but not quite near enough to be struck. As they did this, they threw money onto a blanket lying by the

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place
yo ka wey na yo ka wa ka wa	where green scum is on
	the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

C 754 789 791 walked; he went fast; the bear could run as far as that rock (200 yds.), turn around, and be back, very quickly. The driver stood up, then sat down when he pulled the reins; he growled. He started from here at sundown and got to Tejon in 2 hrs. (50 mi. away in airline); whenever they wanted to go some place they'd go over and get this bearskin; it was kept hung up. One old man took his grandson, who was about 17 yrs. old, over to the cave where the bearskin was; he wanted to teach him how to drive it. The old man got inside the bear and was telling the boy how to handle the reins, and the boy was watching him. The old man told him, 'When you want to start it, you step on this; when you want to turn, you pull the reins.' The boy went inside the bear and sat down; I guess he stepped on it too hard, and that bear jumped quickly and ran away. He ran into a steep canyon and jumped into a big oak tree; he got stuck in it, hanging there. The boy got off quickly; he was frightened. They always came up here for that ayi·p, that white stuff like baking powder, to blow on the bear. They made lots of these machines; 10 of them."

T 754 776 791 Rattlesnake shamans.- Rattlesnake sometimes obtained as pet by vision seekers; persons who had this pet could play with rattlesnake; "at a fiesta they danced and held snakes in their hands; they got a song from rattlesnake, and he wouldn't bite them after that" (SM). "One man had rattlesnake as pet; when anyone was bitten he was called and sucked out the poison. When that man was dying the people found his pet outside the door; they threw the snake away, but he returned" (MM).

T 754 825 177 776 791 [171] SM thought rattlesnake good pet to obtain, but denied persons with this pet could cure snake bites; FP said rattlesnake "a friend to witches"; one of animals witch could send out to accomplish evil. All informants agreed no rattlesnake stepping ceremony held, as among Yokuts (Kroeber, Handbook, 504); SM's brother had seen Yokuts shamans go to rattlesnake holes, bring back snakes, handle them publicly; Tübatulabal did not do this. Anecdotes of persons who had rattlesnake for pet mainly relate to Yokuts who were living among Tübatulabal (see Autobiography of FP); PM, who had rattlesnake as pet, married to Yokuts man; FP, whose intertribal affiliations were with Koso toward E, held rattlesnake in low esteem (above).

T Y 756 ● 789 791 Exhibitions, competitions.- At mourning ceremony, or little fiesta for face washing (below), shamans, or persons with power from vision (takiniganan) held shooting contests (umu·lomot); "they played that way" (SM). Contest between 3 Yokuts, one Palagewan shaman, held on SM's rancheria, described as follows: "At about 9 o'clock in the morning, 3 Tule River reservation Indians and Bill Viejo Chico from Bull Run, with 4 men (o·wi·ganan) to help them paint, went out in the bushes. The contestants put on their feather skirts and headdresses and had their faces painted

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in red and white stripes (see section on Dress and Adornment). Then they came back to a level place by the houses and Bill Viejo stood behind a little fire, facing the sun, with a basketry sifter (wa·t) in his hands. He was going to do the shooting. The Tule men kept walking and dancing back and forth, facing Bill Viejo, but about 100 ft. away from him. Bill Viejo held up his tray 3 times, pointing it toward the sun, then N, then S; then he held it over the fire twice and rubbed it with the palm of his hand. The third time, after he held it over the fire, he put it against his chest and talked, and as he talked he blew toward the other men, and in this way got the 3 men down. One of the Tule men was barefoot; he dug at the sole of his foot and got a lizard out of it that Bill Viejo had shot in it" (FM).

MM, SM, describing same contest, said Bill Viejo held sifter up after warming it and at the same time shot substance, paring from coyote's nails, or piece of coyote, rattlesnake skin, into each opponent in turn; as Tule men were shot, they fell down, became stiff; each man's assistant and woman took fallen man away, laid him under shade; if his power strong enough he could extract shot himself, but if he had insufficient power, shooter had to extract it. Sometimes man remained unconscious for all of 30 minutes, but no one ever died. After being shot men sweated freely, even though day cool. If shooter shot, missed opponent, spectators standing near by not in any danger being hit (Voegelin, 1935 b, 229).

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Although most of informants said this was doctors' contest, SM affirmed that not only shamans, but persons having power from visions entered such contests. He related following anecdote as illustrative of power of air shot used in these contests:

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One white man saw that sort of play at Tejon; in a fiesta the takiniganan were playing that game; the white man saw when they shot each other.

"Oh," he said, "you just do that; we don't believe it."

They told him, "If you don't believe it, you go and stand over there; we're going to try you out."

The white man said, "You wait; I'm going down to my ranch; I'm coming back Sunday. You wait for me here." And that white man returned on Sunday; another white man came with him; he was going to take care of him, I guess.

The Indians said, "What are you going to do?" to that white man. And that white man put a steel vest on under his shirt.

They asked him, "Are you ready?" and he said, "Yes," and got off his horse. They told that white man to stand about 300 ft. away, under a lone oak tree. He walked over there and stood there, thinking; suddenly he told them he wasn't going to stand there. He was frightened; he returned to them.

The Indian who was to have done the shooting said, "You watch me; I'm going to shoot that